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Contents

1	Ancient Ethnic Communities of Himachal Pradesh	Prof. Dinesh Saklani	1-19
2	Ancient Kangra and The Baijnath Inscriptions	Prof. B.K. Kaul Deambi	20-29
3	Territorial Gods of Yamuna Valley : A Fresh Light on Their Historic Roles	Prof. Atul Saklani	30-39
4	Some Ancient Trade Routes of Himachal Pradesh	Dr. Poonam Minhas	40-50
5	Origin and Patronization of Mankot Paintings during the Medieval Period	Dr. Yogita	51-56
6	Sari Hoard of Indo-Sassanian Coins	Ajay Kumar Shandil	57-61

Ancient Ethnic Communities of Himachal Pradesh

Prof. Dinesh Saklani*†

It has been commonly as summed by historians, archaeologists and anthropologists that early settlers lived in the mountains, in the vicinity of rivers for easy availability of necessities of life. The mountainous regions were easy to clear in comparison with the dense forests in the plains. Here we are concerned with the ethnic settlements of Himachal Pradesh in ancient period. It cannot be said definitely whether the tribes gave their names to the settlements or derived their names form the geographical units they inhabited. The tribal settlements were dictated by geographical conditions and conformed to the natural division of the country, and the tribal expansion always followed the most natural routes. In the course of time, the territory in which a *Jana* (Tribe) had settled came to be known as its Janapada, and birth or domicile in a Janapada, began to be considered a greater bond than the original kinship of the tribe[1].

The republics tended to occupy the less fertile, hilly areas, which may suggest that "the establishment of the republics pre-dated the monarchies"[2]. It is equally plausible, however, that the more independent minded settlers of the plains, rebelling against the increasing strength of orthodoxy in the monarch moved up towards the hills and established communities which were more in keeping with tribal traditions, such as the early settlements in Punjab. The nature of their reaction to Vedic orthodoxy indicates that the people of the republics were maintaining an older and continuous traditions. Their revolt against the Vedic may be revealed in the Dharmashastras which describe certain tribal people as degenerate Kshatriyas and even Shudras because they had ceased to follow the Vedic way of life and observe the Vedic rituals. In the monarchies tribal loyalty weakened and gave way to caste loyalties. The political expansion of the kingdoms over large areas also weakened the popular assemblies since the great distances prevented frequent meetings. Tribal organisation was based on a smaller geographical area which permitted the functioning of a popular government more effectively.

In Ancient time Himachal had various ethnic communities and settlements, a few of which even exist today. While discussing the ancient ethnic communities of Himachal

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Pradesh, we would focus more on a few prominent and existing communities, but at the same time we would like to give a brief introduction of many little known communities which are almost unidentified and untraced at present.

Kalapagramkas had been located on the basis of the *Vayu-Purana* at the eastern side of Kailasa on the Himavata, where the sages viz. Kanda, Vasistha, Bharata, Nala, Visvamitra, Uddalaka and others had their hermitages[3]. Alberuni (.he basis of the *Matsya-Purna* describes them along with *Kimpurusha*, and *Khasa* and mentions *Kalapagrama* as the city of the most virtuous[4].

Kohalas, another community find mention in the text of the *Brhat- Samhita* and belonged to the Northern Division[5]. They have been associated with the Kohils, a Kullu tribe who had given their name to the Kullu-valley. Kohil or Koli (Kullu) as a territorial name denotes the Kullu valley. The Manhalas also occur in the Northern Division of *Brhat Samhita* list. They were probably another people allied to the Kohalas or Kolis, whose name survives in the Lahaul region. Another ancient people *Dandapmgalakas* of the *Brhat Samhita* list have also been associated with the people of Kullu valley[6]. The Mandavyas occur twice in the *Braht-Samhita* list. The term Mandavya is mentioned separately in a verse in another chapter of the Samhita as the names of a sage[7]. According to MacDonnell and Keith[8] *Mandavya*, a descendant of Mandu is mentioned as a teacher in the *Satapatha Brahmana*, in the *Sankhyayana Aranyaka* and in the *Sutras*. Possibly the people of Mandi are referred to as the Mandavyas as the grouping in the *Brhat-Samhita* list indicates. Mandi is the same as the Mandamati of the Yavadigana of Panini. Another people, *Satakas*, have also been mentioned in the *Brhat-Samhita* list of the names of the countries in the north. On the South, Mandi adjoins Suket, which lies along the north bank of the Satluj River, which separates Suket from the Shimla hill states. Suket is written as Seokot in earlier records. The *Satakas* plainly refer to *Seokot* by a slight transposition of one letter.

Another ancient community referred to by the *Kasika* as one of the six branches of the Salvas and have been identified with Tilabharas of the great epic and located in Hoshiarpur district.

Khasas:

The Khasas remain a subject of interest in the history of the Himalayan region. It appears that they established their settlements in the hills and valleys of Kashmir,

Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal, where their progress remained unabated for a considerable period. Who were they and where from they migrated to this region, is a question much discussed by the Scholars.

It may not be wrong to presume that the Khasas branched off from their ancestral home, which was probably in some part of Central Asia, and took a different route for India.

Mahabharata[9] gives a detailed account of the gifts presented to Yudhistara by the kings of India and neighbouring countries at the coronation ceremony. In *Markandeya Purana* Khasas are mentioned at four places. The *Bhagvata-Purana* mentions the Khasas as one of the outcast races, which recovered salvation by adopting the religion of Krishna. The statement probably refers to the gradual permeation of Brahmanical ideas among Khasas. In *Vayu Purana*, the Khasas are one of the races which Sagara would have destroyed but, for Vasishtha's intervention[10]. In the *Brihat Samhita* of Varamihira, the Khasas occur several times. The Khasas are mentioned with the Kulutas, Tanganas and the Kashmiras. The Khasas have been put by Varahmihira first in the eastern India in his chapter on Geography, and then on the north west[11]. North-east is an obvious mistake for north-west, as Kashmir and Kullu and hardly be put in the north-east, as Kashmir and Kullu can hardly be put in the north-east India. The *Harivansa*, like the *Vayu Purana*, records the conquest of Khasas by king Sagara. They are said to have participated in the attack on Mathura by the Yavanas (Greeks)[12].

In Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*, written in the 12th century A.D., there are many references to the Khasas. Sir Aural Stein has confined them to a comparatively limited region, comprising the Valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir-Pantzal range[13].

It is, however, clear from the classical sources that the Khasas were not confined to a particular locality. In the Drona Parva, the Khasas are described to have arrived from the diverse realms and, the same fact is borne out form the *Markandeya Purana* and other sources. In his article "on Mount Caucasus", Capt. Wilford has made an attempt to trace the movement of Khasas from Kashgar to Kashmir and Kumaon to the Khasia hill in Assam[14]. It can be safely surmised that the facts recorded by him and those mentioned above fairly bear out the theory of a very wide expansion of the Khasa race in prehistoric times on the northern border land of Bharatavarsha.

The antiquity of the Khasas in Himalayan districts has been widely accepted by Indian writers and before the sixth century they were stated to be speaking the same language as the people of Balkh which is supported by a statement in the Natya Sastra of Bharata in the chapter of dialects (XVII, 52) that the Bahliki language is the native tongue of northerners and Khasas. Grierson classifies the language of Himachal Pradesh as group of western Pahari languages spoken in Jaunsar- Bawar (district Dehradun), the Shimla Hill States, Kullu , Mandi Suket, Chamba and Western Kashmir, while the Lahauli and the Spiti belong to the Tibeto-Burman group as pointed out by him elsewhere. Grierson in another place observes that "the great mass of the Aryan speaking population of the lower Himalaya from Kashmir to Darjeeling is inhabited by tribes descended from the ancient Khasas of the *Mahabharata*".[15]

Thus, we see that the Khasas, so much discussed in ancient literature, had an important place in the list of immigrants, who migrated to the hilly regions of India. They settled in the hills and valleys of Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Garhwal, Kumaon and Nepal. Thus, they engulfed the whole of the cis- Himalaya from Kashmir to Nepal and spoke a language closely allied to Sanskrit. They gradually abandoned most of their old practices and adopted the local customs and manners. Thus, in course of time, they lost their claim for consideration as the Aryans and came to be aligned with the mlechchhas or the barbarians as observed by the 'Sanskritised' people of India. The Khasas were a war-like tribe and were well known to the ancient as well as the classical writers. They organised the aboriginal tribes and were in turn influenced by them in shaping their social structure. They organised themselves into clan and elected a strong man, called Mavi or Mavana. They, constantly fought among themselves and plundered each other. Thus, the whole region was split into small units, that later developed into indigenous republics, called the Janapadas in the Sanskrit literature. We cannot point out the surviving remnants of the pure Khasa tribe in any part of India. Grierson points out that the traces of the old Khasa language became stronger as we go westwards and in western Pahari they are stronger still. Both in phonology and in vocabulary we come across numerous instances of affinities in the language of North-Western India called ' Paishachi' languages, of which Kashmiri is the best example[16]. The Khasas may have originally settled near the Kinnaras. In the *Brhat-Samhita* the Khasas occur after Kunahas or people of Kunaor, the Conae of Pliny[17]. The Kunets of Kullu are divided into two classes-

Khasiyas and Raos. The indigenous word for what used to be regarded as a higher caste is Khaushia which may be a corrupt form of Khasa. Looking at the Khasas from the Brahmanical point of view, Manu says that Khasas are the descendents of outcaste Kshatriyas and again after mentioning some south Indian tribes he says that Kambojas, Yavanas, Sakas, Paradas, Pahlavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and Khasas are those who became outcastes because they neglected their religious duties, and whether, they speak a barbarous or Sanskrit language, are called Dasyus. Thus, we see that the Khasas as a whole, emerging out of a colourful tribe, played a very interesting role in the later history of Himalayan region of Himachal Pradesh.

Kinnars:

Kinnar or Kanaura is notified as a scheduled tribe in Himachal Pradesh and localised in Kinnaur district (bordering Tibet), which is identified by some with *Kinnardesha* (the land of Kinnara) mentioned in the *Mahabharata*. The Kinnars have deep roots in Indian mythology, legends and literature and are considered as distinct race, somewhere between human beings and gods. Perhaps with the sole exception of the Rig Veda, they are referred to in all the ancient literature in some form or the other, though there is no un animinity on the question of their origin. The *Mahabharata* mentions Kinnars along with the Gandharvas, Yakshas, Siddhas and Kimpurashas[18]. Manu, mentioned that the sons of Atri are said to be the fathers of Daityas, Danavas, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Uragas, Rakshasas, Suparanas and Kinnars. The Kinnars find mention in the *Matsya Purana, Vayu Purana, Shiva Purana and Adi Purana*. In the *Amarkosha*, Vidyadharas, Apsaras, Yakshas, Gandharvas, Pishachas, Guhyakas, Siddhas and Bhutas have been mentioned with the Kinnaras. The Kinnars were apparently a semi-mythical tribe as it is indicated by a passage of the *Uttaradhyayana Sutras*[19]. The Kimpurushas were born out of Brahma's shadow[20]. According to the Matsya Purana, Kashyap Rishi had thirteen wives. Among them Muni and Arista gave birth to the class of *Munis* and *Apsaras* and the race of Kinnaras and Gandharvas respectively. The *Vishnu Purana* says that one Priyavarta raja had seven sons. He divided his kingdom among them and Jambudwipa went to Agnidhara. Agnidhara had nine sons, one of them was Kimpurusha. When Agnidhara divided his kingdom Jambudwipa, Kimpurasha got Hemkut region. Several tribes mentioned in these texts, along with the Kinnaras, might have been the

inhabitants of the mountain valleys. The Kinnaras have been uniformally mentioned as great singers and dancers. They might have been the original actors, dancers and singers.

S.M. Ali writes that the inhabitants of the Himalayas are Kinnaras (of Kinnardesha) and Mahadeva appeared there in the garb of a Kirata. Judged by the sculptural and inscriptional indications, Gandharvas, Kinnars and other godlings were to attend on the principal deity, dancing, waving fly-wishks, offering garlands of flowers etc. Those legendry, mythological and literary descriptions of the Kinnars may be the facts. But, if they are not, they most probably indicate a very highly creative and inventive genius of the authors of these works.

The land of the Kinnars at one time was supposed to be between the sources of the Ganga in the east and the Chandrabhaga river in the west. According to a tradition, Hemkuta Mountain was the dwelling place of the Kinnaras, Gandharvas and Siddhas. That land was also called 'Kimpurusha-Khand' in the Puranas. The modern Kinnaur district in Himachal Pradesh is supposed to be a part of the old legendary and mythological land of Kinnardesh. M.D. Mamgain, establishes that the country of Kinnaras or Kimpurushas was positively to the west of Kailash and the lake Manasa. He identifies it with the present day Kinnaur district of Himachal Pradesh. But Kumarsambhava mentions that the capital of Himalaya, 'Aushadhipratha' situated on the bank of holy Ganga, was inhabited by the Yakshas and Kinnaras. Rahul Sankrityayan believes that the Kinnara or the Kimpurasha, was the name given to the enslaved and defeated Dasas. We can surmise that the Kinnaras were the inhabitants of the Himalayan regions of Ganrhwal and Himachal Pradesh in the ancient times.

The question arises whether the Kinnars and the Kimpurashas were two distinct tribes or one and the same. Alberuni on the basis of Matsya Purana says that the Kinnars and the Kimpurushas were two different communities[21]. But the Amarakosha clearly mentions them as the synonymous terms[22]. The Amarkosha also describes them as the one among the dev-yonis i.e. the godly beings, *Vidyadharas, Apsaras, Yakshas, Rakshasas, Gandharvas, Kinnaras, Pishachas, Guhakas, Siddhas and Bhutas*. Banshi Ram Sharma, conjectures upon the possibility of the word 'Kima' meaning mountain and explains Kinnar as the mount in dwellers, and that since they reared the horses, they were adopted in mythology as the horse-mouthed, semi-celestial being. This view does not appear to be correct[23].

J. Przyluski, explains the Kinnars as the horse mouthed on the Austro Asiatic beliefs and describes the ceremony of asvamedha as the fusion of Austro-Asiatic beliefs[24]. He explains the Nagas-the serpent man, and the Kinnars-the bird-man, as the vestiges of non-Aryan totemism. In certain cases Naga, Kinnar etc. represent the primitive totems. Often, the hero born of a Naga or a legendary animal receives marvellous gifts from the ancestor and becomes a genuine god. At last we would like to discuss more about the prominent feature of the Kinnars of ancient time as musician of high quality. Bhattacharya identifies the present day Kanuaras with the descendants of Kinnars, referred to in the classical literature as excellent musician and dancers[25]. Interestingly, Danielou, an authority on North Indian music, has observed in this regard, " .....there remain in many regions, in certain valleys of the Himalayas in particular, archaic forms of music with an upper tonic and a descending scale, the study of which would be of great interest for the understanding of ancient music"[26]. On account of their ancient musical and other traditions the kinnars find a reference among the pre-Aryan tribes like Andh, Savar, Koda/Kora, Gond, Bhotta, Kirata, etc. whose music is said to be of pre-pentatonic scale and after whom ragas (musical modes) like Andhri, Gurjari, Asavari, Koda, Gondikiri, Votta, etc., have apparently been named, as claimed by some scholars.[27] The Jatakas recorded them as singers with a honeyed voice and beautiful dancing. They have been described as gitamodinah (delightful in songs), and devagayakah or Svarga gayakh (celestial singers). Kalidasa, in his Raghuvamsa, described them singing the adventures and heroic deeds of Raghu. Bana in *Kadambari* described them as good musicians singing songs with music on the flute and their women as *nrityagitapragalbhah* (skilled dancers and singers). Now, the question to be discussed in whether the present day Kanuaras are also as good musicians as the legendary Kinnars were. Narendra Gopal Nag in his interesting study of the question suggests that this is not so. The present ethnic, structural and spatial distribution of the Kanuaras does not identify them with the Kinnar tribe referred in the Great Tradition as a distinct ethnic group of excellent musicians. It is clear that the present day Kinnar do not comprise a homogenous group and display significant territorial ethnic diversity. The observation of Bhattacharya and some scholars that the people belonging to the present day Kanaura scheduled that the people belonging to the present day Kanaura scheduled tribe are the descendants of the Kinnars referred in classical Sanskrit literature is not substantiated by

empirical data, which show physical and cultural diversity of the people residing in different parts of the district. The ethnic history of Kinnaur also lends support to this view. Even if one of the diverse ethnic groups residing in Kinnaur district has a possible link with the Kinnars of the mythological literature, the admixture of diverse ethnic types due to migrations and conquests during the long course of history, spanning more than two millennia, the relationship, if any, is remote and has hardly any meaning or significance. It is a different matter that the inhabitants of Kinnaur appear to be aware of the image of the ancient Kinnars as excellent musicians and dancers and, as a consequence, are quite keen to impress the visitors with their music and dance performances.

The basic profession of the legendary Kinnars seems to be acting, dancing and singing and they must have been pastoral. But the present day Kanauras are pastoral, agrarian, artisans, carpenters, and also employed in various government departments. After independence, particularly after the creation of the border district of Kinnaur, in 1960, the state government has taken several measures for the improvement of livestock.

Kulutas:

The kulutas had been inhabitants of the north-west region in the ancient times. They have been widely mentioned in the ancient Sanskrit literature. In *Ramyana*, they are mentioned as Kauluta. The Kulutas find mention twice in the *Brahat-Samhita* list[28] and categorised as *makechhea*. They are mentioned in the *Mahabharata*, the *Puranas* and the *kavyamimansa* of Rajasekhara. But the epic and puranic literature mention Uluka and Ulutas respectively and not Kulutas. O.C. Handa's opinion is that the Uluka and Ulutas should not be taken for Kulutas because references to Uluka and Uluta have occurred so widely in Sanskrit literature that these cannot be confused with Kuluta in any way[29]. Interestingly, the Uluka territory finds mention in *Mahabharata* and not Uluka race. The repeated mention of Uluka territory in three different verses of *Mahabharata* and in the Puranic lore which may strongly suggest that a distinct region known as Uluka existed in the remote Himalayan valley in the north-west beyond 'Inner- Hills', Outer Hills and sub Hills[30].

Reference to Panchagana also subsequently occurs in Visakhadatta's *Mudraraksasa*. According to this source, Kuluta ruled by Chitra Varma, was one of the

five Kingdoms designated as malechha pancagana sangha[31]. Varahmihira also mentions these people in similar context. Handa's opinion seems to be correct that it was not Ulukas or Ultas who later came to be known as Kulutas, but the later formed a distinct part of Panchagana Sangha who did not adhere to the popular socio-religious system of the mainland and were thus called malechhas.

Further, references about Kulutas in *Mudraraksasa* and *Brhatasmhita* are fully borne out by the description given by the Chinese pilgrim Hieun-Tsang who visited that region in the second quarter of the seventh century. Thus the time gap between the abovementioned two literary works and the visit of Hieun-Tsang to the place.

Now in the light of the references to Panchagana in *Mahabharata* and further in *Mudraraksasa* about Kuluta as a constituent of Malechha panchagana sangha duly supported by *Brhatasamhita* and fully borne out by the personal testimony of Hieun-Tsang (635 A.D. in Kiu-lo-to). Thus it would not be logical to interpret Uluka or Kuluta.

Hieun-Tsang visited Kiu-lu-to around 635 A.D. He has located this place 700 li northeast of Jalandhar[32]. But his description about the circuit of Kiu-lo-to as 3000 li may not appear to be correct if we go by Cunningham's parameters to which he included Mandi and Suket. This statement is controverted by his own definition about Jalandhara Kingdom which, according to Hieun-Tsang was about 1000 li in length and 800 li in width, and included Chamab on the north with Mandi and Suket on the east, and Satadru on the south-east[33]. Obviously, either of the two statements about the demarcation of territory is not correct. And, on the strength of numismatic evidence (discovery of Kuninda coins in Balh valey of Mandi) it would be more logical to place Mandi and Suket region outside Hieun-Tsang's Kiu-lo-to territory. The Kiu-lo-to region of HieunTsang may have to be located north of the Beas-Parvati confluence towards Rohtang and beyond. This demarcation also conforms the description of the Kulantapitha given in Kulantapitha Mahatmya of the *Brahamandapurana*. According to Sastri, from that book, the Kulantapitha may be located in the Parvati valley[34].

O.C. Handa on the basis of numismatic and epigraphic evidences suggests that the Kulutas were mainly trading people who had extended their trade activities far and wide in the north Indian plains as has been revealed from the discovery of their coins in widely separated regions[35]. In fact, the Kuluta territory occupied a strategic position in Beas valley in the mid-Himalaya to control the trade between the north Indian plains and

the inner Himalaya and beyond. The production of coins must have been an uneconomical affair with them which explains the fact that they only used them for that they only used them for the external trade in the plains. This also explains the intriguing fact that all the Kuluta coins so far discovered, have been located outside their territory. The claim of some scholars that some coins have been found in Kullu valley, does not seem to be well-founded because not a single coin has so far been discovered in Kullu valley.

S.B. Chaudhuri on the basis of numismatic evidence and the evidence of Hieun Tsang points out that the Kulutas occupied the Kullu valley and also included the small principalities of Suket and Mandi[36]. In the light of above discussion, the opinion of O.C. Handa appears to be correct that the Kuluta territory was somewhere in the Beas valley.

Kunents:

The Kunets or Kanets are the yeoman peasants of the Himalaya. They are found in the Kullu valley, Mandi, Suket, Shimla and Sirmaur.

The derivation of the word 'Kanet' or Kanait is from Kunit, meaning indifference or hostility to the *Shastras*. The Rajputs or Kshatriyas, who did not strictly observe the social rules, particularly in regard to wedding and funeral rites and in widowhood, were called the Kunets. According to one belief, the *Kania-het* (love for daughters) signifies that the Kanets did not kill, like the early Rajputs, their newly born girl-child. Another theory is that '*ait*' means 'son' king Kansa of the Puranas is known as *Kan* in Pahari, so his sons would be called Kanait[37]. This however, is not at all believable, because Kansa was a demon and on being killed, he left behind no descendants. Another suggestion, which equally false, is that Krishna was also called Kan in the Pahari dialect, so his descendants are Kanaits.

In Kullu valley, the Kunets have three groups Kash, Rahu and Niru. According to Sir James Layall, however, there are only two divisions, the Kassiya and Rao. In the Shimla hills the groups are Kanet, Khasha, Rahu and Kuthara. The Kunet ranks above the Khasa, while both rank above the Rahu, who are votaries of Rahu and the Kuthara devotees of Ketu. In Kullu proper the Kasha ranks higher than the Rahu. In Saraj the Kunets are polyandrous, yet they profess to look down upon the Kunets of Kullu, and in Shimla hill the Kashas are inferior to the Kunets. In Bushahr, the Kunets are called Jabs

or Zads and form a separate sub-caste, with which the Kunets of the lower ranges do not usually marry though they eat and smoke together.

Kunets are divided into numerous sects (Khels, over thousand in number). This is quite different from the gotra. Gustav oppert, writing about the people of Kunawar district (Kinnaur), remarks that the people of this country are generally known as Kunets or Kunaits, but call themselves Mon[38]. Sir Alexander Cunningham writes," with respect to the name of Mon, which is given to the Kunets or Khasas by the Tibetans, it does not appear to be a Tibetan word, as it is used by the Kunets themselves to designate the ancient possessors of the hills, whom they acknowledge to have been their own ancestors"[39]. Another scholar, however, takes these Kunawari Mons together with the Kulindas, as a branch of the Gaudian tribe of the Gauda-Dravidian race, and even Sir Alexander Cunningham could not deny this possibility of a 'Gondish' affinity of the Kunets. But Gustav oppert, while criticising rather negating the possibility of the Kunets belonging to the Kolarion stock, tries to find their origin among the Gaudian tribe of Gauda-Dravidian race. He may be right at the first instance but equally wrong on the second one. Kunets cannot be related with the Gauda Dravidian race at all, as their physical features, cultural characteristics or social systems are quite different from those of the Gaudian tribe.

There is also another opinion about the Kunets, which relates them to Kunindas. But this is also historically incorrect and cannot be accepted. Rahul Sankrityayan relates Kunets with the Khasas[40]. According to Grierson, the Khasa tribe inhabited the north-west of India on the Hindukush and its southern hills and the western Punjab. Those people outcasted by the Aryans due to laxity in morals and violation of the Aryan social rules and to that reason they were called the mlechchhas.

Cunningham tries to associate Kunets with Kunindas[41]. But this may not be correct. The Kunets are certainly a section f the Khasa people. Their physical appearance, cultural, social and traditional aspects indicate that Kunets and Khasas are one and the same people.

Kuninda:

Along with other tribal dynasties of India, Kunindas played a significant role in the political field in about the 2nd century B.C. Their history, though unrecorded, is

supplemented by the discovery of coins in many parts of India. Whatever might have been their role in the history of India, it is fairly certain that at least they had a powerful domination in the hilly regions of Himachal Pradesh for a reasonably sufficient time. They are mentioned in *Epics, Puranas* and Varahamihra (587 A.D.) also places them somewhere in the Himalayan region. In *Mahabharata*, they are known to have been defeated by Arjuna in his northward digvijaya campaign. Arjuna had to confront the monarchies of Pulinda, Kulinda, Kalkuta and Anart at the very start of his campaign. Here Kuninda figures as a monarchical Kingdom along with other kingdoms of the plains, later they are associated with the forest tribes of the hills viz. Khasas, Jhasas, Nadyots, Praghasa, Dirghavenikas, Pasupas, Tanganas and Paratanganas[42]. O.C. Handa on the basis of these references suggests that the Kunindas were very widely spread people covering an extensive area from the Punjab plains and to the east of Dhauladhar and around the Siwalik ranges. In *Vishnupurana* the Kuninda territory has been named specifically as *Kulindopatyaka* i.e. , the bounding foothills marking Kuninda territory. On the basis of *Mahabharata*, it is also suggested that they had their capital in the plains, the-fact duly substantiated by the numismatic evidences, whereas their kingdom extended deeper into the outer Himalayan ranges. Based on the references derived from the literary sources, Cunningham has identified the ancient Kulindas with the present day Kunets of Kullu and Shimla.

The ethnic name Kulinda may have been obtained from the river Kalindi or the Yamuna and they are not to be confused with the people of Kullu valley who are separately mentioned. From the references in the *Mahabharata* it is clear that they were scattered in many territories or their settlements extended over a wide area which belief is also supported by the numismatic evidence.

Incidentally, most of the Kuninda coins have been found in the area traditionally associated with them. On the eastern part, the Kuninda coins were discovered at Kashipur and other places in Kumaon. Kuninda coins have also been found in a sizeable hoard at Sumari village in Garhwal. In the Tarai region the Kuninda coins have been found in the country between Saharanpur and Ambala, at Sugh in huge quantity and at Behat. One coin was found at Karnal in Haryana. Further westward, two Kuninda copper coins were found along with 400 Saka and Kushana copper coins at Sunet, 5 Kilometres west of Ludhiana. In Himachal Pradesh, Kuninda coins have been found at Tappa-Mewa

in Hamirpur district, 54 silver coins of the Kunindas were found along with 21 silver coins of Greek king Appolodotus at Jawalamukhi. Three silver coins of Kunindas were found in Kangra along with the 30 coins of Appolodotus. Sometime back, quite a sizeable hoard of coins was dug out during excavation for a milk plant at Chakkar in Balh valley of Mandi district. The hoard consisted of a bulk of Kuninda copper coins and eight Kushana coins. From the discovery of the Kuninda coins, at places widely apart each other, it may be surmised that the Kunindas were primarily a mercantile community. The most famous settlement of the Kunindas seems to be near the river Ravi, where they have left their coins. On the basis of the find-places of their coins, the Kunindas are said to have occupied the narrow strip of land at the foothills of the Siwalik, between the Jamuna and Satluj, and the territory between the upper course of the Beas and the Satluj. A passage of the *Vishnudharmottara Mahapurana* shows further extension of the Kunindas towards the west, between the Vipasa and Ravi.

The Kunindas were aboriginals of the hilly region of north India. Cunningham connects them with the present day Kunets of Kangra and the trans-Satluj area, adding further that they are the original inhabitants of the whole of lower slopes of the Himalaya from the banks of the Indus to the Brahmaputra.

The identification of Kunindas with the Kunets, though appearing probable, is not without objection. The Kunet population in Kangra and Cis-Satluj area may be considerable but nothing can be said about the Garhwal and Kunaon region. Though Cunningham states that the census returns include all the lands in the Dum Valley populated by the Kunet population, the present population, however, indicates that the majority of the population comprise Khasas and some other inferior castes. Nevertheless, the recent numismatic discoveries have extended the territory as far as to the border of Tibet. Thus assigning to them the present Garhwal and Kumaon as well. We do not know anything about the present day descendants of Kunindas in the Garhwal and Kumaon region. Hence, the contention of Cunningham about their identification with the Kunets of Kangra cannot also be taken to be very convincing.

The enthnographic distribution and the numismatic finds of the second and the first century B.C. of the Kunindas in the Siwalik hills right from Kangra to Kumaon, which included Himachal Pradesh as well as adjoining areas of Garhwal, shows that at that time the Kunindas were independent. During the Saka invasions, they even extended

their power in the plains between Ambala and Saharanpur.

The Kunindas probably disappeared from the political map of northern India sometime before 350 A.D. for, they are not mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta. There is also no other evidence of the continuation of their rule. It may, thus be safely assumed that the Kuninda state did not survive for a longer period and was probably overpowered by the Yaudheyas.

Trigartas:

Tirgartas have been widely mentioned in ancient Sanskrit literature. *Virataparva* and *Udyogaparva* of *Mahabharata* are replete with the narrative of the Trigartas and their king Susarma. They are also mentioned in the Northern Division of the Brhat Samhta list. They also find mention in the Puranas and the *Asthadhyayi* of Panini. Our knowledge about Tirgartas is consolidated by the numismatic and epigraphic evidences.

Tirgarta literally means the land watered by three rivers which are the Ravi, the Beas and the Satluj. Form the Astadhyayi of Panini we know that they were a confederation of six tribes which are enumerated by the Kasika as Kaundoprastha, Dandaki, Kraustaki, Jalmani, Brahmagupta and Janaki. Out of which Brahmagupta has been identified with Brahmor, the Bhramaras of the Puranas. It may be the same as the Brahmapura mentioned in *Brhat-Samihita* list. The Kaundoprastha may be related with the people living on the back of the river Kanduka binduka which flows in the Kiragrama (Bajanth), a part of Trigarta. The other four names are not identified yet. The five Trigarta brother are known to have taken very active part in the great war and their king Susarma is known to have commanded the charioteers regiment of the Kauravas in the Epic War[43]. The Trigartas of Susarma won by Nakula was located on the West near the Great Desert (Marubhumi)[44].

On the basis of the evidence from *Parshitiparvahan* of Hemchandra, accounts of Hieun-Tsang, and Rajatarangini, as well as the epigraphic and numismatic evidences, it has been pointed out that the Kingdom of Jallandhar (Trigartas, Hemchandra treats the two as synonyms) also included districts of Hoshiarpur and the hill district of Kangra. Further that the people of the country though rich looked rustic and were pitiless. The Trigartas of the mountainous north have been associated with the Daryas and Kokandas etc. in Mahabharata which aptly justifies their location in the upper Kangra valley. It was

this Trigarta which became synonymous with Jalandhar in the later period. The Trigartas of the Mulasthanipuri who had sided with the Kauravas might have been wiped out of existence during the Epic War. But due to the overwhelming and wide-spread references in the *Mahabharata*, the Trigartas of Susarma, however gained predominance in the folk-tradition and were considered the founder of Katoch dynasty of Kangra. On the other hand, Trigartas of North remained non-aligned during the Epic War and continued to exist and flourish in their Himalayan kingdom. The Trigartas of the north might also have had the opportunity of extending their domain to the adjoining plains in the Jalandhar by forging alliance with other warriorraces.

The ancient Trigartas were the democratic people who had federal type of administration during the Panini age and were called as the Trigatta-Sastha[45] i.e., the Trigarta Hexed of the Warrior-races. The existence of their federal system is proved down to the second century B.C. from the legends on their coins. But it seems that the federal system of the Trigartas broke down around the beginning of the Christian ear giving way to the monarchical set-up. This assumption finds support in the first century of Christian ear. The Trigarta rulers during the subsequent period remained vassal to one or the other paramount power. *Rajatarangani* informs that the Trigartas remained under the paramount control of Pravarasena of Kashmir for considerable period during fifth and sixth century and perhaps for this reason remained out of Samudragupta's campaign and did not figure in Allahabad Pillar Inscription of 470 A.D. Hieun-Tsang also confirms the allien rule over Trigarta land.

Audambaras or Udumbaras:

One of the most prominent tribes of ancient Himachal Pradesh was known as Audumbara, Udambara or Odumbara which find detailed reference in the *Mahabharata*. The Audumbara coins are among some of the earliest coins found in the various parts of Himachal Pradesh, apart from the Punjab districts of Pathankot and Hoshiarpur. Audumbara coins have been found at Jwalamukhi and Irripal both in Kangra district. Thus the Audumbaras seem to have occupied eastern Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur districts[45]. There was another Udumbara to the east of Kannauj. Here we are concerned with the second one which is by mistake mentioned as Ambara in the *Brhat-Samihita* list.

It is certain that the Udumbara plant known as Ficus glomerata gave its name to the place and the tribe. It is one of the series of words borrowed by the Indo-Aryans from

the Austro Asiatics[46]. The name of this tree does not occur in the *Rigveda* but is often found from the *Atharvaveda* onwards and its wood was variously used for sacrificial purposes. The provenance of the Audumbara coins assigned to the first century B.C. suggests that the eastern portion of the modern districts of Kangra, Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur, roughly speaking the valley of the Beas, or even wider region between the upper Satluj and Ravi, Corresponded to the ancient Audumbara country. The Audumbaras issued several types of coins where we come across the names of four kings, namely-Sivadasa, Rudradasa, Mahadeva and Dharaghosha.

The Kasika refers to six branches of the Salvas as well as the Chandravrtti of Chandra Grammar viz. Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakara, Yugandara, Bhulinga and Saradanda. The formation of this confederation of the Salvas as well as the Trigartas are referred to above in the discussion of the Trigartas leads us to conclude that there was no powerful monarchical state in Punjab in the time of Panini which could control all these petty states.[47] They might have formed these confederations for protection against their enemies.

The Audumbara maintained their premier position among the other republics of the other republics of the north western India. Their ruler Dharaghosha was probably the most important ruler of the republic and he is said to have successfully checked the advance or the Indo-Greek king Demetrius-I towards the Upper-Bari-Doab. The boundaries of the Audumbara republic extended at least up to the bank of river Satluj and their dominance continued even under Dharaghosha's successor, Mahadeva. The growth of the indigenous regional power of the Audumbaras and their material prosperity is testified from a large number of silver and copper coins which date from the first century B.C. Some of the Audumbara coins are associated with 'Mitras' which omit the name of the tribe. It is suggested that was a new dynasty related to the Panchala rulers of Mathura whose names also end with the suffix Mitra. The issue of silver coins may indicate that the economic position of the Audumbaras was very sound. That their republic was situated on the trunk route from Takshasila to the Gangetic valley via Sakala, Agrodaka and Rohtaka may also have contributed largely to their economic affluence. Thus the Audumbaras were intermediaries between the people of the mountains and the plains. Przyluski infers from references in ancient Buddhist texts that the Audumbaras traded with areas outside their own territory, where silver standard was in vogue.

The coins of the Audumaras belong to pre-kushana, at least pre-kanishka, phase of Indian history, none of them belonging to the post-Kushana-age. This would suggest that the Audumbaras could not emerge as a political power after the Kushana sway over.

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HIMACHAL PRADESH
ANCIENT ETHNIC SETTLEMENTS
Chamba
Keylong
Lahul & Spiti
Kangra
Kullu
Mandi
Kinnaur
Una
Bilaspur
SHIMLA
Solan
Nahan
Sirmaur
N
T
S
Legend
Khasas
Kinnaras
Kalupagramkas
Kohalas
Munahalas
Dandapangalakas
Kulutas
Satukas
Mandavyas
Kunindas
Trigartas
Andambaras
Kunets

Ancient Kangra and The Baijnath Inscriptions

Prof. B.K. Kaul Deambi*

What in now known as Kangra, originally formed part of the kingdom of Trigarta also called Jālandhara. This kingdom at the time of its greatest expansion comprised all the territory between the Satlej and the Ravi in the outer hills and the Jālandhara Doab in the plains. The two names Trigarta and Jālandhara appear to have been used as synonyms for the whole kingdom[1]. At a later period, however, the name Trigarta came to be applied to Kangra only and as Trigadh was in use for the Kangra State till early 19th century.

Early History:

According to the evidence furnished by the Aṣtādhāyī of Pāṇiṇi , Trigarta was a Republican State like several others of this type in Northern India in the 6th century B.C. Pāṇiṇi refers to Trigarta as Sangha or a Republic[2]. Soon after, the republican form of government appears to have been abolished in favour of, the monarchal regime and we find a king named Suśarman ruling over Trigarta at the time of the Great War. Suśarman is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[3] as a Trigarta Chief who took part in the great war and fought on the side of the Kauravas. He is mentioned in the *Vaṁsāvali* of the Katoch family of Kangra as Suśarma-candra and figures as 234th king from its mythical founder named Bhūmacandra[4]. The name Suśarmapura for Kangra appears to be due to this king.

The history of Trigarta in the immediately following period is not known. In the 2nd century B.C. the republican constitution was again revived in this Hill State, as is attested to by the numismatic evidence. Coins bearing the legend *Trakata-janapadasya* have been discovered which on palaeographic grounds can be assigned to the 2nd century B.C.[5] The legend '*Trakata-janapadasya*' has been translated as 'of the Trigarta republic'. It would thus follow that Trigarta was a republic in the name of the 2nd century B.C. and the coinage was issued in the name of the republic.

The history of Trigarta in the following periods is again veiled in obscurity. In the absence of any literary or epigraphical evidence, it may be presumed that Trigarta acknowledged the supremacy of the imperial Kuṣāṇas whose sway extended over Jālandhara where, as is believed by some, the fourth Buddhist council was convened by the great Kusāna emperor Kaniska.

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The Kusana Empire declined in the 3rd century A.D. and several republics which had ruled in the Punjab independently in the centuries preceding the Christian era and had to submit to the Kusāna influence during the intervening period, again asserted their independence and some of them, as for example, the Yaudheyas and the Kunindas, again struck coins. A large number of coins of these Republics belonging to the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. has been discovered[6]. It is not known if like these Republics, Trigartas also asserted independence after the collapse of the Kusāna empire. No coin of the Trigartas in the post-Kuśāṅa period have come to light so far. On the other hand, the District of Kangra has yielded a few coins of Yaudheya currency having legends in the characters of 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.[7] This had led Altekar[8] to conclude that the District of Kangra along with those of Ludhiana, Rohtak, Karnal, Delhi, Saharanpur etc. which have yielded large hoards of Yaudheya coinage, was ruled by the Yaudheyas from the beginning of the 3rd century. However, the discovery of a few Yaudheya coins from Kangra does not constitute the proof of the political domination of the Yaydheyas over the Trigartas as suggested by Altekar.

Yaudheyas submitted to the political might of Sanudragupta in the 4th century A.D. It is, however doubtful if Trigarta lay within the Gupta empire which, extended up to the eastern part of the Punjab. There is no evidence to this effect either in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta or in the records of his successors. The history of Trigarta during the Gupta period is thus a blank. Nor is anything known of this Hill State in the immediately following period till we come to the first half of the 7th century when Jālandhara was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang[9]. He describes the Kingdom of the Jālandhara about 100 li or 167 miles in length from east to west and 800 li or 133 miles in breadth from north to south. If these dimensions are correct, the Kingdom of south. If these dimensions are correct, the Kingdom of Jālandhara as pointed out by Cunningham[10] must then, have included the State of Chamba on the north with Mandi and Suket on the east and Satadru on the south-east. It would seem that Jālandhara after the disintegration of the Gupta empire had grown into a big State which also included Trigarta in the outer hills. This state was ruled by a king named Udito[11] who has been identified by Cunningham[12] with the king Adima or Adita of the Va□sāvali of the Katoch family.

The paucity of material prevents us from tracing the history of Trigarta in the subsequent periods in a continuous strain. However, it is likely that the Hill State continued to be ruled by the successors of Adita, the scions of the Katoch family. The Katoch Chiefs seem to have acknowledged the supremacy of the powerful Karkota rules of Kashmir in the 8th century A.D. Jālandhara of which Trigarta formed a part, is included in the Rājatarangiṇi [13] among the territories conquered by the famous Karkota ruler Lalitāditya.

About the end of the 9th century A.D. Trigarta was ruled by a king named Prithivi-chandra[14] who probably was a Katoch. He was the protégé of the Utpala ruler Śankaravarman of Kashmir (883-902 A.D.) and is referred to in the Rājatarangiṇi[15] to have sent his son as a hostage to the Kashmir ruler. The name of Prithivi-chandra does not appear in the *Vaṁsāvali* of the Katoch family of Kangra but the cognomen Candra which is borne by all the rulers of the Katoch family right form its founder Bhūma-candra makes it highly probable that Prithivi Chandra also belonged to the famous Katoch line.

In the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Trigarta was subdued by the founder of the neighbouring Hill State of Chamba, named Sāhilla-varman. In the copper plate inscription of the Chamba rulers, Soma-Varman and Asata (11th century)[16], Sahilla-Varman is stated to have forcibly reduced the lord of Trigarta into submission. The Trigarta Chief, however, later became a friend and an ally of Sahilla Varman and is stated to have assisted the latter in his fight against the confederate forces of the Kiras, Saumatikas and the Durgaras[17].

In the beginning of the 11th century Trigarta is said to have been ruled by the Katoch king Jagdīśa-chandra who was 436th in descent form Bhūma-candra, the mythical founder of the State[18]. During his rule in 1009 A.D. the fort of Kangra, famous all over India on account of its fabulous wealth, was besieged by Mahmud of Ghazni who after capturing the fort seized the entire wealth stored therein. Cunningham attributes the vast accumulation of wealth in the fort to Shahi rules of Kabul. "It is almost impossible", remarks he, "that such a vast amount of treasure could have been accumulated by the petty Rajas of the Kangra valley, but it is quite conceivable that it may have been the hoard of the Hindu princes of Kabul"[19]. There is evidence of the close connection of the Shāhis with Nagark or Kangra. According to Alberuni the fort of Kangra preserved the genealogical roll of the Turkish Shāhi princes of Kabul-the immediate predecessors of

Hindu Shahi princes- for sixty generations[20]. The Khajuraho Inscription of Yasovarman Candela[21] mentions a king of Kīra or Kangra with the title Shāhi. Besides, large hoards of Dirhams or silver coins of the Shāhis have been discovered at several places in the Kangra Valley. This pointes to the connection of Shahis with this Hill State.

The conquest of Punjab by Mahmud was only partial and we find Trigarta or Jālandhara still ruled by a Katoch king named Induchandra in the 2nd quarter of the 11th century[22]. The king was the contemporary of Ananta-deva of Kashmir (A.D. 1028-63) and is referred to in the Rājatarangiṇi[23] to have given his two daughters in marriage to the Kashmir ruler. The name Indu-candra is not traceable in the local Vanśavali but the name ending Candra indicates that he was a Katoch.

The details of the history of this Hill State in the immediately following period are not known. Uninterrupted in the State, as in the beginning of the 13th century we find it ruled by a king named Jaya-chandra who most probably was a Katoch. Jaya-chandra is mentioned in the two Baijnath-Praśastis dated Saka 1126 A.D. 1204[24] as the ruling chief of Trigarta or Jālandhara. He was first identified by Cunningham[25] with Jaya-Mala-candra of the *Vaṁsāvali*. This identification based on the erroneous reading of the date of the *Praśastis* was later repudiated by Vogel and Hutchison[26] who identified the king with the Katoch chief Jayasimaha-Candra of the *Vaṁsāvali*. The two *Praśastis* of Baijnath are incised on two large stone slabs in the famous temple of Baijnath at Baijnath (ancient Kiragrāma) in the Kangra District of Himachal Pradesh. The *Praśastis* No. 1 gives an account of the construction of a temple in honour of Lord Vidyanatha (Baijnath in the vernacular) by two merchant brothers, Manyuka and Ahuka and records the donations made to it by some pious individuals. It contains an eulogistic account of the ruling chief of Kīragrāma named Lakṣamaṇa candra and is dated in the year 80 of the reign of Jaya-candra who was the lord of Trigarta to whom Lakṣamaṇa-candra owed, allegiance. The date of the *Praśastis* Sam. 80, *Jyeṣṭha Sukla Pratipat* corresponds to 2nd of May, 1204 A.D. The *Praśastis* No. II contains a brief account of the baronial house of Kiragrāma to which Lakṣaman candra belonged right from its founder named Kanda. It besides records the donation made to the Siva temple by the ruling Chief Lakṣamaṇa -candra by his mother Lakṣamaṇa and by the builders of the temple. It is darted in the Saka year 1126 which corresponds to A.D. 1204.

Nothing worthy of note us recorded in the *Praśastis* about Jaya-candra except that he was the sovereign of a baronial house that was ruling this time at Kīragrama identified with the modern town of Baijnath in Kangra.

The *Praśastis* introduce us to a baronial house which ruled for eight generations at Kīunder the supremacy of the kings of Trigarta. Since last of them ruled in A.D. 1204, we may place the ten chiefs between A.D. 1030 and 1210 allowing an average reign of 20 years to each generation. It would thus follow that this line of Rānas established its power at Kīragrāma shortly after the invasion of Sultan Mahmud and the overthrow of the Shāhi dynasty. No historical details of these chiefs of Kīragrāma are known. The *Praśastis* contain a brief description of each of them, but the descriptions are purely conventional and it is only occasionally that we meet with information that may be of some real historical importance.

Kanda (c.1030-1050 A.D.)

The founder of this baronial house was Kanda. He is described as the root of the matchless family, vanquisher of foes, conqueror of towns and servant of the lotus feet of the king of Trigarta[27] which would indicate that he was a powerful ruler who established a barony at Kīragrāma and who owed allegiance to the Raja of Trigarta.

Buddha (c. 1050-1070 A.D.) and **Vigraha** (c.1070-1090 A.D.)

Kanda was followed by his son Buddha, a man of pure intellect who, in turn, was succeeded by his son Vigraha who, true to his name, "caused the separation of the wives of his enemies (from their husbands) and who possessed power to crush his foes"[28].

Dombaka (c. 1019-1110 A.D.)

Vigraha was succeeded by his son Dombaka about whom it is stated that he supported with his hands those falling from high places and together with other princes captured many villages[29]. This may indicate that Dombaka rendered assistance to the neighbouring princes when in distress, and in return obtained their help in annexing a number of the surrounding villages. This would also show that Dombaka did not rule over a single village of Kīragrāma but was the master of several villages. Dombaka professed Śaiva-faith and worshiped Śiva.

Bhuvana (c.1110-1130 A.D.)

Dombaka was followed by his son Bhuvana who like his father was a Śaiva and offered great sacrifices to Lord Śiva. He protected his subjects well and also showed devotion to his sovereign, the lord of Trigarta[30].

Kalhana (c. 1130-1150 A.D. and **Bilhana** (c. 1150-1170 A.D.)

Bhuvana had a son named Kalhana who is stated to have been a virtuous and powerful ruler. Kalhana was followed by Bilhana who was a faithful vassal of his overlord Hrdaya-Ćandra and married the latter's daughter named Laksanikā[31].

Rāma (c.1170-1190 A.D.) and **Lakṣmaṇa** (c. 1190 A.D.)

Bilhana had two sons from Lakṣanikā, Rama and Laksmana, the former of whom died early. Lakṣamaṇa was the ruling chief when the *Praśastis* were composed. He was a powerful ruler who kept intact the territories held by his ancestors[32]. He was a worshipper of Śiva and allotted daily six Drammas of the money collected in the customs house at Kīragrāma to the Siva temple erected by the two merchant brothers Manyuka and Ahuka[33].

The *Praśastis* also throw an interesting light on the social and economical conditions of ancient Kangra. We find that the Brahmins who occupied an honoured place in the social hierarchy were piously and charitably disposed. Though largely the recipients of charity and grants they made liberal donations to the religious institutions. Thus in the *Praśastis* we hear of two Brahmins making donations to the Śiva temple. While the former donated two droṇas of grain from his lands at Navagrama[34], the latter contributed half a plough of land from the lands he occupied at the same place[35].

As regards the position of women, their plight appears to have been miserable in certain parts of Kangra. Even their chastity was not secure at the hands of the feudal lords. For example, it is stated in the *Praśastis* that the rulers thought the sovereignty over a town to yield its legitimate result only by the rape of the wives of their subjects[36]. There were noble exceptions too as we learn that the ruling chief Laksamana-candra of Kiragrāma took a vow after his pilgrimage to Kedara Nath that thence forth he would treat the wives of others as his own sisters[37]. As regards the custom of Sati our records indicate that though it was in vogue it was not universally practices. Thus queen Laksanika survived her husband Bilhana[38]. Widows after the death of their husbands led a life of austerity and piety and took part in religious donations. Thus widowed queen Laksanikā donated one plough of land to the Siva temple[39]. There are indications that widows had right to property as is indicated by the references to possession of estates by the widowed queen Lakṣaṇikā.

The *Praśastis* furnish evidence of the private ownership of land in ancient Kangra in the 13th century. Among a number of donations made to the Śiva temple of Vaidyanātha, they mention the following gifts made by private individuals:

1. Half a plough of land in Navagrāma, donated by Ganeśvara[40].
2. The self owned land (nija-bhuh) presented by the merchant Jīvaka for the courtyard of the temple[41].
3. Four plough of land in Navagrāma donated by the merchant brothers Manjuka and Ahuka, the builders of the Śiva temple[42].

These gifts of land evidently show that the land evidently show that the land in Kangra in the 13th century was owned by the private individuals.

Trade in ancient Kangra was carried on by a class of people called Vanik or merchants[43]. They were comparatively a wealthier section in the society and carried on trade in the neighbouring districts as well[44].

The articles were offered for sale at the stalls called panya-sālas[45]. The articles imported from outside were charged custom duties at the custom posts called mandepikas[46]. The duty was paid in terms of silver coins called Drammas[47]. There were oil seeds[48]. The *Praśastis* would give us an impression that Kīragrāma was a flourishing town in Kangra in the 13th century. The very size design and architecture of the Baijnath temple as also the number of donations paid to it by the private individuals testify the richness of the resources of the people of also throw light on the religious disposition and the Śaivite propensities of the members of the royal family and of the common people.

Notes and References

1. Hemakoṣa, 4.23; Baijnath-Praśastis , lines 6,10, 18, 20 ,21; Epigraphia India, Vol. I, pp.97 ff.; where Trigarta and Jālandhara have been used as synonyms.
2. Pāṇini Aṣtādhāyī, V 3116. Pāninī refers to the republics as Sanghas as Compared to kingdoms which are designed by him as Janapadas.
3. For several references of Trigarta in the Mahabharata see Sorencen's Index to Mahabharata, p. 687.
4. The origin of the name Katoch is uncertain. Moorcraft who visited Nadaun in 1820 states that the Kingdom of Kangra then contained three Provinces viz. Katoch, Changa and Palam. Katoch seems to have included the country around and to west of Kangra and it may perhaps be surmised that this was the original name and nucleus

of the State, vide., Vogel and Hutchison, History of Punjab Hill States, Vol. 1, p. 207.

5 Allan. Coins of Ancient India, p.cxxxix.

6 Ibid., oo. Ciii, cli. clic.

7 Ibid., o cli ; Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, pp.79.

8 Altekar, Vakātaka Gupta Age, p. 29.

9 Watters, on Yuanchwang, Vol. I. p. 296.

10 Cunningham, Ancient Geography, p. 159.

11 Watters, op.cit., p. 297.

12 Op. cit., p. 159.

13 Rājataraṅgiṇī, IV. 177.

14 Ibid., V.144.

15 Ibid., V. 144-47

16 Vogel, Antiquities of Chamba State, Vol. I. No 24 . pp.182.

17 The Saumatikas not known from any other source have been identified by Vogel, (op. cit.) with the people of Sumarta, a tract in the former Hill State of Basoli or Balor mentioned by Kalhana under the name of Vallāpura. Durgara evidently devotes modern Dugar or Jammu. The Kiras who are mentioned in several epigraphic and literary records are generally believed to be a people of ancient Kangra which had the main settlement at Kīragrāma or modern Baijnath. However it would seem that the Kīras in the present context were distinct from the Kīras of Trigarta, since Trigarta was an ally rather than an enemy of Chamba. Vogel and Kielhorn on the evidence of the Rājatarangiṇi, VIII. 2767 and Bṛahatsamhita XIV. 29 and Persian texts (India Historical Quarterly, Vol. ix, p.7), which mention Kiras along with the Kashmirians, identified Kīras with a tribe or people who were settled in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. According to Vogel, (Antiquities of Chamba State, Vol. I, p. 99), Kiras in the present case seem to have acted as mercenaries in the service of the chief of Durgara who were sent by him to the assistance of Saumatikas in their fight against Sāhilla who appears to have come into collision with them while extending his dominions down the Ravi Valley.

18 Vogel and Hutchison, op. cit., p. 120.

19 Archaeological Survey of India, Report, Vol.V, pp 155-56.

20 Alberuni's India, Translation Sachau, Vol.II, p.11.

21 Epigraphia India, Vol.I., pp.122 ff.

22 Archaeological Survey of India, Report, Vol.V, pp.155-56.

23 VII. 150. 152.

24 Epigraphia India, Vol. I, pp.97 ff.

25 Op. cit., Vol. V. pp. 178 ff.

26 Op. cit., Vol. II, p. 125.

27 Baijnath-Praśasti, No. II lines 11-20.

28 Ibid., 1.13.

29 Ibid., lines 14-15.

30 Ibid., lines15-16.

31 Ibid., lines17-18.

32 Ibid., lines 20-21.

33 Ibid., lines 27.

34 Ibid., No. I, lines 27.

35 Ibid., line 28.

36 Ibid., line 20.

37 Ibid., line 18.

38 Ibid., No. II line 28.

39 Ibid.

40 Ibid., No.1 line 28.

41 Ibid., line 29.

42 Ibid., No. II line 30

43 Ibid., No. I lines 23,26, 29.

44 Ibid., No. II lines 25-26

45 Ibid., line 27. We have an interesting statement that the ruling chief Laksamana-candra allotted to the Siva temple daily six Drammas of money collected at the mandapika. Buhler on the analogy of the modern Gujarati and Marathi word mandavi which he believes to be the modern counterpart of ancient mandapika and which means a 'custom house' renders mandapika as 'custom house' vide. Epigraphia Indica, Vol.I, p. 117 n.

46 The term is also mentioned in the form of mandapika in the Pallava grant of Siva-Skandavarman (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. I pp.2 ff.) where also according to Buhler (ibid., p. 7n.) it denotes a custom house. It also occurs in the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarajadeva II (V.V. Mirashi, Corpus inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. IV. Pp.204ff) where it denotes a market pavilion in the town where various articles a market pavilion in the town where various articles brought for sale where assessed

and taxed (ibid., p.223, in. 2 and p. clxx). It is mentioned along witn śulka in one of the Bhavanagara inscription (Bhavanagara Sanskrit and Prakrit Inscription. p.159) and we may assume that the mandapika in ancient Kīragrāma was a sort of an octroi or custom post situated near the market place in the town where the articles brought for sale were charged octori or custom duties according to their nature.

47 Bhandarkar, Lectures on Ancient India Numismatics. 207.

48 Praśasti No. II, line 29, Oil mill is described as *tailotpīdana-yantram.*

Territorial Gods of Yamuna Valley : A Fresh Light on Their Historic Roles

Prof. Atul Saklani*

Awareness for writing social history of a tribal or a pre-dominantly pre-colonial society is a relatively recent phenomenon in modern Indian historiography. This awareness is rather belated since the distinctiveness of such societies in the various cultural aspects is vanishing fast due t the process of change and modernization (Saklani, 93). However, with sustained field work valuable information related to traditional institutions a can still be gathered and the nature of political cultural behaviour of peasants and tribal's in pre-colonial times could be re-created. It was generally witnessed that the increased intervention of modern state and particularly its administrative agencies caused a breakdown in the pre-existing socio-political institutions of the local communities. Along with that, the growing encroachment of the state over the local economic resources had created situations of confrontation. Here, we would like to deal with a typical type of dislocations which caused sustenance if the cultural institutions increasingly difficult. The forces of modernisation and change is causing social transformation of Himalayan communities in a major way. The early social formations in the central Himalaya had not been documented, but can be inferred from ethnographic informations and folk tales. These folk tales, in spite of their dynamics are said to be the folk archives. These tales are of course not history but do posses some strands of memories of past.

Within the geographical limits of Yamuna Valley watershed, fall the cultural regions of Jaunsar-Bawar in Dehradun district and Rawain region in Uttarkashi District. According to a record of Tehri Durbar state, the tract of Rawain was brought under the control of Srinagar Raj under the rule of Raja Fateh shah during mid 19th century. The tract of Jaunsar Bawar which traditionally formed the part of Sirmor state and was conquered by the British and put under the Dehradun district after Anglo-Nepalise war of 1814-15 (Saklani, 1987). The cultural tracts of Yamuna valley in Himalayas are known for institutions like polyandry, polygyny, polygyn andry, Junior levirate, divorce (choot) and ediosyncratic supernaturalism (Joshi, 1993). These are the traits associated with Himalayan Khas culture which was extended from Kashmir to Nepal. Culture of Rawain

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is sometimes termed as extended Jaunsar Bawar culture and had relatively more cultural similarity with the neibouring Himachali culture than the culture of Gangetic Valley of Garhwal.

One of the significant trait of Himalayan Khas culture is its territory based organisation. Territorial identities in the Garhwal and Kumaon were tied with the castes, as Atkinson (1886) had stated that" .....their names (Khas) are chiefly derived from the villages in which they live (P. 429). Raturi (1928 P. 134) had also mentioned that castes were associated and identified with the names of the villages. The *Parganas* of Rawain and Jaunsar Bawar were traditionally divided into Patties since Pre-modern times, invariably these corresponded with the area of influence of a territorial God. In other words the traditional polity had recognized the area of influence of a territorial God and carved it into a administrative zone.

The territorial Gods functioned through the method of divination of an individual priest through spirit possession. The priest (Pujari) or *Paswa* (Shaman) becomes embodiment of the God and his commands during the state of trance are taken as the direct communication f the possessing divinity.

There are numerous gods but major ones with a large territorial extension and following are Mahasu of Hanol in Pargana Jaunsar Bawar, Pakhu at Naitwar, on the confluence of river Rupin and Supin, Karna of Singtoor, Duryodhana or Somesu of Patti Panchgain and Ader Bodasu in Rawain region (Rawat, 1988). These Gods had a few revenue farming rights. In the name of the God, few members of the village and temple staff formed a sort of an oligarchy which administered the temple estates and commanded some authority in the area of their influence. Apart from the priest who was the head of the oligarchy, other members were called "*Vazir*" a minister "*Thani*' was a security chief of the temple. '*Bhandari*' kept the account; '*Goor*' had the duty to transmit the orders of the *devta* to the public. The people belonging to a few select villages from each patti formed the warrior class of the area, and they were called '*Khund*. Their duty was to protect the honour of the god and territorial integrity of the area. (Rawat, 1988) A portion of the land revenue along with sacrificial goats and various animal and agricultural produce were offered to the temple and were called '*Koot*' (Rawat, 1988). A few villages were attached to these temples and formed the estate of the temple-*devta* (god). The revenue collected from those villages was entirely used for the upkeep of the

temple of the Devta.

These gods acted as centres of local justice and found to be acting as a ruler dispensing with the justice and protection of the agricultural crops, live stocks and grazing lands. They have a duty towards the people to save them from natural calamities like, famine pestilence, natural accidents, death and disease. They played a role in the family disputes intra village disputes related to grazing and agricultural lands. The social organization of Himalayan communities clearly display that in the absence of modern institutions, the traditional agency of supernatural to a large extend had acted as an effective authority controlling, arbitrating and guiding the political and economic functions of the society. In these communities religion has functioned as an alternative source of authority parallel to the political state and its organizations. Like a good government, the divine authorities were able to safe-guard the community interest of their wards. The divine powers were offered regular offerings prayers, sacrifice etc. so that they imparted security, protection and looked after the welfare of the family, crops and animals.

The Western Himalayan Society essentially evolved from the same mother stock variously named as Khos, Khas or Khasia. The indigenous religious practices and territorial Gods are supposed to be the representatives of Khasa supernaturalism (Joshi 1993). According to him that first wave of social transformation took place in these hills when khasa supernaturalism came under attack of *shastric* Hinduism of *shaiva, shakta, vaishnava* order and also to a extent from Budhism. According to this theory, in Garhwal and Kumaon Khasa supernaturalism mingled with *shastric* Hinduism, where as in Yamuna Valley this wave of change remained largely limited to the Peripheral area like Hanol and Lakha mandal. Interestingly Hanol, the principal seat of Mahasu has a legend mentioning tug of war between Vishnu and Mahasu where due to superior magical powers defeated Vishnu who was then forced to take seat, inferior in status, outside the main shrine. This episode had been made out to be indicative of a cultural contest between khasa supernaturalism which was akin to primitive *Saivism* and *Shastric vaishnavism*. In this view point Mahasu in its *shastric* form used be read as Mahashiva. The impact of Shastric Hinduism in the Yamuna Valley was not as deep and over-whelming as in the Gangetic valley whose khasa supernaturalism was dominated by the grater Hinduism in the form of Chaturdhama, punch Badri, punch kedara, jyotir lingas,

shakta Peethas and the pilgrimage associated with the greater Hindu tradition. The territorially-based loosely-knitted Khasa culture was politico-economically was forced into sub tenancy (Sanwal, 1976) and the Khasa suPrenaturalism remained mainly with land ploughing peasant castes. On the countrary the shastric Hinduism was imbibed by the Asal Brahmin and Thakur castes who claimed themselves as migrants from plains and also representative of greater tradition. Both the streams of supernatural coexisted simultaneously, cross fertilizing each other as well as maintaining a segregate identity.

There are other instances of contest for establishing sphere of influence in Yamuna valley among various cults. This phenomenon could be read form the tales of origin of Somesu and Pakhu. Various stories are related to the origin of Mahasu, Somesu and Pakhu. The three most important local Gods are namely Somesar (Gyaneshwar) of Gith & Bajri patti, Mahasu of Hanol and Somesu of Jakhol. These Gods had migrated in Yamuna Valley from Kullu-Kashmir by a *Bhat* (Brahmin). This story gives a strong hint towards migration of primitive *shaivism* from Kashmir and replacing the Danu cult which represented *Tamasic* rituals like human sacrifice.

In these folk tales efforts are made to show superiority of their territorial Gods over others. Mahasu territory tales give credit to Mahasu for vanquishing Kirvir Danu (Demon), who was later worshipped as Pakhu. According to the tale of Pakhu territory, in the pitched battle with the four Mahasu brothers, these brother lost their various limbs where as Pakhu lost only a teeth. The resemblance of *Ek Danta* Ganesh with the Pakhu is worth consideration. Similarly in the Somesu territory it is believed that when Mahasu failed to defeat Kervir Danu and got tired, he asked for support from seven Somesu brothers of Kashmir. Somesu was able to kill kirvir Danu through lightening. The broken head of Kirvir Dnau floated upstream and stayed at the confluence of Rupin and Supin river at Naitwar. He was granted the Permission of Somesu for staying at the place where he was worshipped in the name of Pakhu. From these stories it could be inferred that these cults fought with each other for establishing their territorial influence and also that the Kullu Kashmiri cult of Mahasu subsequently supported by the Somesu cult was able to Vanquish local aboriginal cult of Pokhu. Thus in the uper tracts of Yamuna watershed, the Somesu cult was established, in the middle zone Pakhu and in the lower zone cult of Mahasu established their territorial influence around Yamuna and Tons river valleys. This story also indicates the sequence of conquest, according to which Pakhu cult was

earliest then came Mahasu followed by the Somesu. Mahasu was also able to supplement the *Vaishnavite* domination in the area. This story also indicates that Somesu was brought in the area with the Permission of Mahasu and both co-operated with each other. Those who believe Somesu and Mahasu as Shaivite cults. The story of cooperative bond gives further credence to their view. The archaeological features indicate that the temples and sculptures probably belonged to 10th & 11th century. This is a probability, that the whole of Yamuna Valley including Simla hill states were having cultural exchange with the Kashmir and Kullu around these dates.

II

Mahasu And British Colonialism

These territorial Gods had a political significance even in the eyes of British authorities which is obvious form the following incident which throws interesting light on the process of divine justice as dispensed by these Gods and its use by the British colonial authorities for furthering their political interests.

Most important power in the hands of these territorial Gods related to "justice". The judicial methods employed were solemn oath before the God, conditional curse and ordeal. These methods had legitimacy in most of the formal courts of the hill states (Saklani & Negi, 1989). Most commonly, when facts could not be collected by direct ocular or documentary method, one had recourse to supernatural justice. The validity and truthfulness of evidences produced before a court were confirm by oath before the god. In one famous interesting evidence even the east India Company tried to settle its boundary dispute with Tehri Garhwal state, to its own advantage, through the mouth of divine justice (Pre Mutiny Records, 1830-1840)

The dispute which took place in 1835-36 related to the charge of the temple of Hanol and the four villages attached to it, (Pre Mutiny Records, 1830-40). The Raja of Tehri Garhwal claimed that traditionally the temple and the villages formatted the part of the Tehri Garhwal State. Whereas the *vazir* of Hanol contested the claim. He pleaded, that in the past the area fell in the *Pargana* of Jaunsar Bawar which formed part of Sirmor state and therefore it would now fall in the British conquered territory of Jaunsar-Bawar. The dispute was taken to the court of Lt. Col. Young, the administrator of Jaunsar-Bawar and political agent to Tehri state.

Lt. Col. Young asked both the parties to produce documentary evidence to prove their respective claims, which they failed to provide as most of the documents were lost during the Gurkha rule (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). On 20th December 1835 a Bahi-Khata (revenue register) produced by the Tehri state was found to be unreliable and inconclusive and more reliable a documents were required by the court form the king to establish his claim (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

Since no satisfactory documentary evidence was forth-coming. Young in a move to settle the dispute, proposed that as Pre the traditional custom and usage of the hill region let this dispute also be settled through 'Oath of curse' by both the parties at the temple of Hanol. According to written report communicated by Young to his superiors (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40), the priest and *vazir* of Hanol and *Mukhtiar* of the Raja agreed to this mode of settlement.

On 26th February 1836 both the parties along with Lt. Col. Young reached Hanol to take the Oath. According to Young an agreement was reached between the contesting parties. The mutual agreement reached by the two dissenting parties regarding the procedure of the oath included two clauses. The first clause was that the headman of Jaunsar-Bawar would take oath on our behalf (British) and the representatives of the king would administer it. If they declined to take the oath, then the Raja's claim would be established. The second clause stated that if any member of the families of the headmen of Janusar-Bawar died within the space of twelve months after taking of the oath, the villages should revert to Garhwal (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

Lt. Col. Young declared this second clause unusual and unjust and rejected it (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). It appear from Col. Young's report that the Raja's party agreed with great reluctance to the deletion of the clause and thus both the parties proceeded to the nearby river for a ritualistic bath needed for bodily purification, (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). However, according to Young the representatives of the Raja backed out of the agreement at the last moment and refused to administer the oath and instead expressed the readiness to take the oath (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

Young took it to be a breach of agreement and readily settled the dispute in favour of the people of Hanol and Jaunsar (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

The Tehri King took a strong exception to this decision and represented against the settlement before the Lt. Gen of the North-Western Provinces. The letter of the king

insinuated that the boundary dispute arose only during the time of Young due to his instigation of the people of Hanol, (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). The king also alleged that the requisite written documents presented by him to prove his claim were summarily rejected and at the instigation of the people of Hanol, Young forced the *Mukhtiar* to settle the dispute by a solemn oath of the Deota (god) (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). The Raja claimed that his *Mukhtiar* had pleaded before Young that according to the usage of the country in case of a boundary dispute among neighbouring states, oath of the Deota should be applied on oral and documentary evidences put forth by both the parties. And thus the evidence should also be agreeable to the other neighbouring states like the Raja of Busheher, Raja of Khatal and Jubbal and others (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). The main point of complaint of the Raja against the settlement of dispute by oath was that if people of one area by taking oath deprived him of his authority over a territory, then on some future occasion in the same manner after instituting another suit, may deprive him of some other portion of his patrimony (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

Mr. Young defended his action before the Lt. Governor stating that he had done nothing wrong by honouring the custom and usage of the region (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40).

The incident cast an interesting side-light on the face of British colonialism which was found not aver-se to take recourse to supernatural justice, whereas the local king protested to this irrational process and was found pleading for the decision of the suit based on secular evidences.

Political Significance Of Mahasu Of Hanol:

The entire episode underline the political necessity to bring Hanol into the British territory. From the point of view of political expediency it was necessary for the British to bring Hanol temple oligarchy to their own side as 'Mahasu' the god of Hanol was the territorial god of entire Jaunsar-Bawar which was newly conquered area under the direct rule of the company. Young had himself hinted in his report to the Agent to the Governor of Agra that if the temple is given to the king 'it will be a strong political instrument in the hands of the Raja' (Pre Mutiny Records 1930-40). This statement clearly reveals the awareness of the political significance of this territorial god. In order to have an effective control over the turbulent people of this region it was politically expedient and

opportunistic to acquire the temple for the British territory and keep it under the direct patronage. Political significance of Hanol temple for the control of the Jaunsar-Bawar was clear to Young and therefore he acquired it through dubious means. This may explain the curiously irritational and culturally contradictory behaviour of the British Administrator. Apart from strategic and political connotation of this dispute, this incident also reflects on the significance of the political role of supernatural elements in the Yamuna valley in particular and in the high land regions of central Himalaya in general.

The social anthropologists had tried to generalize about the pre-literate political organization. A cross-cultural statistical survey undertaken by John. M. Roberts indicates that the use of conditional curse and/ or ordeal as the means of settling issues of dispute and simultaneously invoking supernatural punishment is rare among hunters and gatherers, important among pastoralists but most frequent among people who rely on agriculture for subsistence (Robert, 1986). Also, the more highly stratified the society the more likely, the use of conditional curse and ordeals. Finally, the same holds true with respect to agricultural and settled communities, the more centralized the Government and the larger the community governed, the more likely the appeal to the supernatural in the legal settlement of dispute (Robert, 1986). Hoebel (1956) tried to explain this phenomenon by stating that in a post-tribal society where production and resources are differentiated, with more surplus to dispense, the task of the law becomes greater and more difficult. Direct and rational juridical devices fall short of meeting the demands of the law jobs in social maintenance. Recourse is then had to the convenience of the supernatural. It is only in a modern, rationalistic and secularized civilizations, the ritual oath loses its efficacy (Hoebel, 1976).

After coming of the British the increasing structural differentiation of bureaucracy and the encroachment of commercial capitalism in the form of large scale forest exploitation broke the cultural isolation and economic autonomy of this region. Consequently, the institution of supernatural gradually lost on prestige and influence throughout the ensuing decades till 20th century.

The contest between the supernatural and the secular polity for the role and influence came in the surface immediately after the establishment of Tehri state which had witnessed the breakdown of traditional political structure and roles during the occupation of Gurkhas (1797 to 1815) in this region. Once the king became strong and

secure after countering various political challenges faced during the times of re-settlement after the post Gurkha-war, we find Royalty of Tehri Garhwal continuously trying to undermine the influence of the supernatural. One of the strategy was to project their kingship more strongly by proclaiming it proudly as 'Bolanda Badrish' the living embodiment of Lord Badrinath. Badrinath being highly prestigious seat of religion belonging to 'greater Hindu tradition' apparently had overwhelming superiority over territorial Gods who belonged to 'little tradition, similarly as a living symbol of God of greater tradition' the king had overwhelming superiority over the other living symbols of gods represented by the priests and shamans who belonged to local little traditions. This strategy of kingship appears to be able to provide a bigger prestige and sanctity to the Person of the king and to a large extent succeeded in re-establishing the Personal prestige of the king which had gone down after Gurkha conquest and his subservience to the British paramount. The first king Sudarsan Shah was able to overcome few other challenges from supernatural elements to his own authority. When he found the influence of Goril Devata increasing in this state. The king had supposed to have beaten up a individual possessed by the *Devta* himself which made the influence of this particular God flee away entirely form the boundaries of the Tehri State (it is said that a women servant of the palace used to be possessed by the Goril Devta and she stated ordering the queens. These superstitious and god-fearing ladies started touching the feet's of the *dasi*. It angered the king as he found this behaviour humiliating). To an extent territorial Gods represented through the body of priests and Shamans, shared a certain political clout which was more or less conceded by the king. This political privilege made these Gods intermediaries between the peasant and the prince. With growing influence of the state and structural complexity of its administration the political status of this intermediary declined. These Gods had acted as a cushion between the state and the people. With the decline of the political role of the gods the situation of direct confrontation between the state and the people emerged. Therefore, we find that after the introduction of secular and rational laws, the introduction of revenue farming and forest farming rights through bureaucracy the local people confronted and protested before the state more aggressively and directly. Previously, they used to protest first before the God, who in its turn was able to arbitrate with the state. This kind of intermediary position of these territorial Gods endows then with the attributes of feudalism. This feature of Himalayan society, divinity

with feudal features was typical and characteristic and deserves greater attention from social scientists.

This reality of pre-colonial Himalayan society brings a new dimension to the study of phenomenon of power. If politics is study of power then within a central Himalayan polity, the king the feudatory elements like *Sayana*, *pardhans* and court officials were not the only brokers of power. Even a local deity a priest and a shaman had their share in it. These elements related to supernatural domain acted as buffers in some situations, against the secular polity and provided an umbrella of protection to masses from feudal coercion and centrist bureaucracy.

Religion and politics are separate kinds of phenomenon. Yet they are related to a unit is society. Sometimes carefully separated but each forming its own design. In the pre-colonial Himalayan society religion shared political power with the state through the institution of territorial gods. These territorial gods had most of the attributes and powers of a feudal lord. They had their own administrative organization, well defined territory of influence with jural and coercive powers and also proprietary rights over natural resources and local produces.

Some Ancient Trade Routes of Himachal Pradesh

Dr. Poonam Minhas*

Trade and commerce activities of the feudal Hill kingdoms of Himachal Pradesh with the adjoining areas, main land in the Punjab plains and the central Asia trading towns was carried out through many important traditional trade routes. Good were generally carried on mules, ponies, and goats. Sometimes donkeys, camels and bullocks were also employed for this work. This trade in higher altitude areas was carried on the goats, yaks and goonths- the trans Himalayan ponies.

The physical features of the country have greatly influenced the lives and occupational habits of people. The numerous reverine valleys of Himachal Pradesh, especially of the Satluj, the Beas and the Ravi and their numerous tributaries have offered since the remotest times most convenient routes for communication. The fact that most of the human settlements have been located on the banks of rivers may, however, need to be qualified in respect of the rivers running through the geographical terrains of Himachal Pradesh. Most of the rivers in the Pradesh flow in steep gradient through rocky strata forming steep and precipitous banks. It is for this reason that number of villages in the interiors of Pradesh are located at places far higher from the river bank on the congenial mountain spurs. The villages in Kinnaur are the examples in this regard.

Most of the trade in the pre-independence past was carried on along the bridle paths in the valley, mountain spurs and higher mountain passes. These paths look like fine lace running across the mountain surface endlessly as far as one can see. *Parawas* i.e., the staging-posts were maintained at different intervals so that the traders and travellers could stay enroute safely. At such stages, the wealthy merchants and the local rulers built shelter huts the *sarains*. In the course of time those staging-points developed into regular settlements and came to be known as *sarains*. Which in the past had been the night halts for the travellers. Of numerous sarains, the two have become famous in the present time. The Sarahan in Rampur Bushahr above Jeori for the Bhimakali Temple and the Sarahan, a way side township on Shimla-Nahan Road. The wealthy people and local rulers also built temples at such staging-points. In the trans-Himalayan interiors, where Buddhism has been the popular religion of the people, monasteries came to be built at such points. Tabo monastery in Spiti is one of such religious edifice built on the trunk-

*Shimla

route in the Spiti valley.

Interesting accounts of those ancient trade routes, which remained active even during the British times, have been bequeathed to us by many European travellers and adventurers. Many important towns developed on these trade routes. In the Western Himalayan interiors, the Satluj gorge Provided an age-old safe route which linked the Punjab marts of the Indian mainland with the marketing centres in the Western Tibet. The state of Bushahr in the upper Satluj valley had acquired great importance as convenient mid-way stage on that route leading to Ladakh and Tibet. Similarly Mandi, Kullu, Chamba and some other towns, which developed on the trade-routes, not only become the important centres of trade activities but can also the important nucleus of artistic and cultural activities. Traders from Kashmir, Ladakh, Yarkand, Tibet and Central Asia and from many parts of India have been coming to these towns to transect with the local traders. Rampur, the capital town of Bushahr state become the entre-pot where the traders from different places haggled, bartered and bargained, filling the streets with crowds and colour. This was the mart where very best shawl-wool was brought from the trans-Himalayan pasture-grounds for sale to the traders from the Indian mainland. The East India Company understandably became interested in that highly profitable Himalayan trade and the Britishers' Himalayan Policy of 1814, besides having strategic issues, was mainly directed towards the opening up and controlling the trade routes in interiors of Western Himalayas right to the Tibetans trading centres.

After the conclusion of Anglo-Nepalese War of A.D. 1814-15, the hill states came direct under the protection of the British Government. The chiefs of those states were granted *sanads*, conferring upon them their kingdoms in Perpetuity under the condition that they were to allow free passage in their territory to the British merchants and their goods; they were to furnish a stipulated number of *begar* labourers for the imperial service and also to construct twelve feet wide roads in their territories.

The most frequented highway from the Punjab plains to the international border with Tibet in the Bushahr territory started from Pinjor and it was the same trunk-route which the rulers of Bushahr were obliged to improve and maintain in the state jurisdiction. It was the same traditional route which later on came to be known as the tabled Hindustan Tibet Road. From this road, numerous arterial roads branched off to various destinations in the interiors.

Capt. Charles Pratt Kennedy, Assistant Superintendent Hill State, in a report dated 6th July, 1824 Stated that, " The great road of communication from Sirsa or Pinjor over the mountainous region to Rampur, the capital of Bushahr and entreport of the commerce betwixt the Sikh and Hill States and other transverse roads, are in the best state of Preservation, and calculated to afford ample facilities to the trade, which although yet in its infacy has increased to a degree beyond the most sanguine expectation, and I met considerable caravans of loaded mules, jackasses and hill porters conveying iron from the mines in Saree and Nawur to Seeswa, a possession of the Sikh chieftain, Deva Singh and importing a return cargo of Lahore rock salt."

"The erection of the Sangas, or wooden bridges across the Satluj at Wangtoo and Namptoo have much accelerated the general Purposes of commerce the really, safe and commodious passage over this rapid and dangerous stream is now effected to Shipke and Shealkur, the Chinese frontier town on the north-east and to the town on Leh and district of Ladakh on the north."

He further state that in the grant given by British Governor General in 1815-16 to the hill rulers, the rajas of Bushahr, Hindoor, Kahlur, Sirmour and the *rana* of Keonthal, each ruler was allowed to livy a transit duty upon the trade passing through their respective kingdoms.

Capt. C.P. Kennedy, who travelled on this route in 1818 which later on come to be known as Hindustan-Tibet-Road, gives an interesting details about the condition of the road, he noted that-------

"From the rugged nature of the country, the greater part of the roads, however, much pains may be bestowed upon them, can never be good for any length of time. Every year some places are destroyed by the falling of rocks and it very frequently happens that the paths are so astonishingly roug, as to surprise the travellers how they could have been constructed with so small a population."

"The roads in general consists of narrow footpaths, skirting precipice, with often here and there rocks, that would seem to come down with a puff of wind, projecting over the head; to avoid which, it is necessary sometimes to bend yourself double. The way often leads over smooth stones steepy inclined to a frightful abyss with small niches cut or worm, barely sufficient to admit to point of the foot; or it lis upon heaps of gigantic angular fragments of granite or gneiss, almost piercing the shoes, and piled upon one

another in the most horrid disorder. Where rocks are constantly hurled torm above, there is not the slightest trace of a path, and crains of stones are erected within sight of each other, to guide the traveller. There are often deep chasms between the rock, and it requires a considerable degree of agility to clear them, and no small share of caution to avoid over turning the stones which now and then shake under you; more than once. I have seen several of enormous size just up on the poise form over weight, and we were obliged to make a sudden and violent exertion to gain another, perhaps not more secure; and it sometimes happened, that the one we had just quitted upset with a dreadful crash, form the impulse it received in our taking a leap to the next. Here and there beads of hard snow, inclined at an angle of thirty to thirty five degree, are met with, to ascend to pass along which it is necessary to cut steps with a hatchet and to descend them, the easiest and most expeditious mode is to slide down. The worst are the inclined rocks, and great slopes of hard gravel, and small stones rolling under the feet, to a deep and rapid streams; some of these cannot be passed with shoes, and although I only took mine off at one place, yet I have often been obliged to grasp hold of a Person a Person's hand".

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"The most difficult path, I saw, was where ropes were used to raise and lower the baggage, and this did not arise from the path having given way: now and then flights of stone steps occur, notched trees and spars from rock to rock rude scaffolding along the perpendicular face of a mountain, formed of horizontal stake driven into , the crevices, with boards above, and the outer ends resting of trees o0r slanting post, projecting from clefts of the rock below."

H.T. Road up to Shimla came to be used for wheeled traffic by the 1860. After the conquest of Punjab, the high cost of maintenance required for this road beyond Shimla, therefore, remained a small cut bridle path. It was never more than couple of metres wide. A legendry name Bhalkoo Jamadar connected with the Hindustan Tibet Road deserved a mention her. He is still a popular legend among the people of the Shimla hills. Born somewhere near Chail, he possessed no qualifications of experience in road engineering. He is said to have surveyed the entire route passing through the difficult mountainous country right form Kalka up to the Tibetan border, with a simple road compass. The certificates in the possession of his descendents reveal that he joined the P.W.D. as a *cooly* in 1847; and was also employed as a disbursing agent with the field force of the Army Transport corps at Delhi form July to October, 1857. Then he remained constantly posted on the Hindustan-Tibet Road, and completed 30 years of Service till 1877. His qualities of honesty and sincerity earned him a venerable reputation among his superiors. His intuitive powers in surveying difficult cliffs and precipices without any instrument except a simple compass is simply borne out by the opinion expressed by Maj. A.M. Long, R.E. Fagu Benglow..... "He has an instinctive aptitude for selecting the best line for a road across precipitous country... he should in my opinion, be ranked for his length of service and his unsurpassed zeal intelligence, and his unsurpassed zeal intelligence, and special powers as a hill road maker, with any 1st class overseer f the Department." He was the first who surveyed the present Hindustan-Tibet Road.

The original Hindustan Tibet Road broadly followed the same alignment as it exists now upto Narkanda. But beyond Narkanda the original alignment deviated

considerably from the present day road to link villages enroute. From Rampur onward the original road ran high above the Satluj through the villages. That alignment had to be abandoned due to geographical and meteorological reasons to make the new road all weather. Hence, the present road runs far below the habitational areas, along the bank of Satluj. Interestingly, many new villages came up on the new alignment and the older villages extended further to the road edge in the later days. The stages on the original alignments were as follows:

1	Shimla	--------
2	Fagu	12miles
3	Theog	4 ½ miles
4	Matiana	11 ½ miles
5	Narkanda	11miles
6	Kotgarh	10 ½ miles
7	Nirit	10 miles
8	Bridge over Nogri	7 miles
9	Rampur	5miles
10	Rampur Bunglow	2 miles
11	Gaura	6 ½ miles
12	Sarahan	10 ½ miles
13	Taranda	14 miles
14	Paunda	4 ½ miles
15	Nachar	4 ½ miles
16	Wangtu Bridge	3 miles
17	Chango	------
18	Urmi	9 ½ miles
19	Rogi	10 ½ miles
20	Chini	3 miles
21	Pangi	7 miles
22	Rarang	8 miles
23	Akpe	3 lies
24	Jangi	4 miles (the road ends were and 'Taite' river is crossed by a crozy bridge)
25	Kola	5 ½ miles
26	Labrang	½ miles

27	Tabang	1 miles
28	Runang Rang Less	4 ½ miles
29	Thanum	3 ½ miles
30	Sijnam	10 miles
31	Shaso	3 miles
32	Cliff	1 ½ miles
33	Pooi	12 miles
34	Bridger over Salley	½ miles
35	Dubling	2 miles
36	Nangea	1 miles
37	Nangea Dogri	1 miles
38	I[st] & II[nd] crest	3 ½ miles
39	Shipki	3 ½ miles

Trade with Tibet for all Practical purpose has entirely been carried on by the people of Kinnaur, belonging to villages between Nachar the Tibetan border. In 1929 Sir Edward Wakefield, was deputed by the Punjab Government to look-after and project the interests of the India traders under the Anglo-Tibetan Trade Regulations of 1914. A British Trade Agency had been established at Gartok, the capital of Western Tibet for the purpose. In 1929 Sir Edward Wakefield was deputed by the British Government to negotiate with the Tibetan official at Gartok.

Since the later period Rampur, the capital of Bushahr State, on the right bank of Satluj river, emerged as a principal trade-centre on the Hindustan Tibet Road. The Lavi Fair at Rampur underlines the mercantile significance of this town.

Another track with played an important role in the development of mercantile activities in Himachal Pradesh passed through Kullu and Lahaul. This route has been used since very ancient times by traders and travellers between Punjab and Ladakh and the adjoining distant countries. The route passed largely along the Beas river upto Rohtang Pass and then ace along the Chandrabhaga to Keylong and thence to Leh the capital of Ladakh. It is possible that early Buddhist Missionaries might have travelled to Kullu, Lahaul and ultimately to Ladakh on this route which in the earlier time probably bypassed the present-day Mandi town, and followed a mountainous track form Baijnath to Bajaura across the Dulchi Pass. The Chinese pilgrim Huien Tsang (630-643 in India) possibly travelled on that very route up to Kullu in 635 A.D. He mentions in his account

that Tathgata himself visited Kuluta to preach Dharma. Hiuen-sang further mentions that Emperor Ashoka built a Stupa there.

In November 1631 A.D., two Christian missionaries, Francisco de Azevedo and John be Oliviera travelled from Leh to India via Kullu crossing Himalayan mountain passes. They were the first Europeans to travel no this route.

The famous traders- in-disguise William Moorcroft and George Trebeck, also travelled on this very route in 1820 A.D. through Lahore, Kangra, Mandi, Kullu and Lahaul to Ladakh, and have left very interesting account of their journey.

No particular attention was devoted to this route until Davices, the Secretary to the Punjab Government issued his Trade Report in 1862 and drew attention to the advantages that might accrue from encouraging commerce on this route. Subsequently by 1863, a regular track had been laid along the Chandra River in Lahul. For sometime afterwards there were apparently but few efforts made to improve the existing communications. But in 1865, Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of the Jalandhar Division, reported favourably on the advisability of extending the existing road and from 1866 onwards various sums were allowed from the Government funds for that purpose.

A.F.P. Harcourt, who was Assistant Commissioner of Kullu Division from April 1869 to March 1871, described this route the "Main Trade Route commencing at the crest of the Bubhoo passes through Sultanpur (Kullu town of today), and winds by the left bank of the Beas up to Manalee (Manali) shortly after crossing the Solung (Solang) it ascends to Rolla (Rohala) and traversing the Rohtang, descends by the new road to a sport opposite to Kakbur village. It then turns up the left bank of the Chandra, and near Kaksur (Khoksar) rest-house passes to the right shore, following the course of the river till it is joined by the Bhaga. The path now lies over this last stream, and along its right bank past Kielung, Kolung, and Darcha to Putseo, where it change to the left side of the river; and just beyond Zingzingbor, to the encampment at the foot of the Baralacha, again leads back to the right bank, and so ascends the pass, from thence proceeding into Ladakh by Lingtee."

He further observer, "All throughout Kooloo this road is in excellent order for mule traffic, the gradients are easy and the pathway from ten to twelve feet wide; and both over the Rohtang and for various portions of the line through Lahaul, it is easily traversable by baggage animals, but as it nears the Baralacha, the path becomes lost in boulders, and speedy locomotion is impossible"

On the Kullu-Leh trade route, Capt. H. Ramsay, the British Commissioner, Ladakh reported to the British. Resident in Kashmir that- "In the autumn of 1887 the first Palampur fair was held, for the purpose of stimulating the Central Asian Trade. Mr. Forsyth, in his letter to the Punjab Government reporting on the results of the fair wrote, assuming that the route between Yarkand or Khotan and the Punjab to be the only feasible one-"we have a choice of two great lines, one from Leh through Kashmir to the plains, the other through the Lahaul, Kullu and Kangra. Undoubtedly if Kashmir were a British Province, there are certain advantages in adopting that route for the mountain passes between Leh and Srinagar are lower than those between Lahaul from Ladakh. But even here there are counter balancing advantages on the Lahaul line and comparing the two lines as they are present to be viewed politically, there is everything in favour of the Lahaul line. British territory runs upto the Lingti river within seven marches of Leh and thus we can ensure traders from exaction so far and give them some consideration too may be given to the fact of our tea district being trapped by this route, and it would make a material difference to the tea merchants whether they took their consignments direct by Kullu and Lahaul to Yarkand markets, or went by the circuitous and consequently expensive route of Kashmir."

Shaw, the owner of a tea garden of Bhagsu of Kangra, was particularly interested in the improvement of the Kullu route. The Kullu route led to Amritsar which was even then on the line of railway. This route remained open for six months and of its marches passed through high and uninhabited region, where supplies were not available and it also crossed over four passes i.e.

1 The Taglangla Pass (5,000 meters)
2 The Lacelung Pass (5,070 meters)
3 The Baralacha Pass (4,897 meters)
4 The Rohtang Pass (3,955 meters) on way to Yarkand.

The Kullu route was originally advocated by Mr. Forsyth not because it was better than the Kashmir route but, because it enabled traders to avoid the heavy taxes levied on them in Kashmir.

In the north-west, Chamba and its divisions---Brahmaur in the upper Ravi valley and Pangi in Chenab valley, had contact with Jammu, Basohli, Kistatwar and the main Valley of Kashmir.

There has been two important traditional routes connecting Chamba with Jammu & Kashmir. One route from Chamba to Jammu passed through Bhagwantpur, Chil, Sanjip. The other, Koti-Sundla-Langera-Jammu boundary Road linked Chamba with Udhampur Jammu & Kashmir through Sundla, Salooni, Kihar, Bandal and Langera. Another track from Chamba to Udhampur passed through Gurjan, Drabla track from Chamba to Udhampur passed through Gurjan, Drabla, Gilech, Chatri, Bhalun, Kathet, Tissa, Kutehi, Jane, Quila, Alwas, and Shatrundi. One road from Kutehi branched off to Chandra, Bindraban Kalatop, Kilar Bajwas, Dharwas and then entered into Udhampur in the Jammu & Kashmir. From Dharwas one track branched off to Kanwas, Tongor, Tissa and finally proceeded to Padum in Zanskar. Most of these routes have now been developed into mortorable.

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One road from Pangi ran along the Chandra-Bhaga river Via Bhujund, Kund, Bara Udaipur, Trilokinath Tholong to kyelong, and further, on crossing Baralacha Pass, to Leh. Another road in Lahul passed through Rakh, Benog, Ghitrar, Lal, Brahmaur, Phat, Dharoul Ghat and Kugti and after a short distance entered Lahul. Those routes are still followed by the trenchers and pedestrians.

Maj. Gen. D.J.F. Newall (Bengal, retired) Fellow of Royal Geographical Society, travelled several time in this area from 1849 to 1872. In his account of travel, he has mentioned several routes that connected Kashmir with Chamba and Lahul

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Manjir
Bhandal
Langera
Thanala
Badrawah
Joora
Jangalwar and
Kaneni to Kishtwar covering a distance of 163kilometers.

The routes connecting these hills with the Indian plains were being frequented from the time immemorial by the pilgrims, adventures, peace-seekersand traders. With those traders and merchants, the religion and culture of the main land also travelled to the Himalayas interiors and other countries beyond the Himalayan in China, Yarkand, Central Asia. Products of those distant lands flowed in to Indian markets through the valley-routes across the high altitude passes. The traditional trade-routes of Himachal Pradesh have not only been the left lines of the hill economy but also the umbilical cord from the international trade between the Indian mainland and Central Asia.

Origin and Patronization of Mankot Paintings during the Medieval Period

Dr. Yogita*

Mankot, now known as Ramkot situated in the Dansal on the right bank of Mandal stream in the Jasrota region of Jammu, was a small state fifteen miles long and ten miles wide, bounded on the west by Jammu on the South West by Bhoti, on the north by Bandralta, on the East by Bhadu and Basohli and on the South by Karaidhar range, separating it from Samba and Jasrota. Mankot was one of the important principality of the Durga Group and it was a branch of the ruling family of Jammu[1] and remained socially subordinate to the former. This had invested these rules with the spontaneous leadership of a large group of principalities based on the ties of Kinship. This privilege greatly helped Jammu in extending its sway over a number of neighbouring principalities such as Bhadarwah, Kistwar, Basohli, Chamba and others, with the help of this principality[2].

Rajdarshani gives a long list of twenty one rulers of Mankot who ruled one after the other for a long time. The pedigree of the Rajas of the Mankot[3]. The principality of Mankot was founded by Raja Karan Dev son of Raja Bhoj Dev of Jammu. But the actual consolidator was Raja Manak Dev, who was the fourth descendant of Karan Dev[4].

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Manak Dev

Manak Dev, a contemporary and vassal of Raja Narsing Dev of Jammu, seems to be an eminent ruler. He conquered some villages near the present town of Ramkot and extended the boundaries of his kingdom upto the Talhan torrent in the east and upto Mansar-Chani in the West[5], subduing a number of petty chief's called Ranas. He laid the foundation of a new capital and built a fort. Manak Dev named his new capital, Mankot after his own name, which in time became corrupted to Mankot[6].

Manak Dev also threw the yoke of the supremacy of Jammu for a while and became independent. This took place probably in the first quarter of the thirteenth

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century. From his days the state come to be called Mankot and his descendants got the clan name Monkotia. Manak Dev was followed by his son Uday Dev, and the latter by Naurang Dev, Udyam or Uttam Dev, Hari Chand, Aimal Dev and Kalas Dev in succession. Kalas was contemporary of Raja Ajeo Dev (1423-1454 A.D) of Jammu. Nothing else is known about him. After Kalas dev, two other insignificant rulers come to the gaddi of Mankot before Pratap Dev ascended the throne, they were Biram Dev and his son Sawar Dev[8].

Pratap Dev

Pratap Dev as the most significant ruler of Mankotia clan. He was contemporary of Raja Kapur Dev (1530 A.D. 1571 A.D.) of Jammu, with whom he had amicable relations. They had bound themselves in filial relationship by mutually exchanging turbans[9]. He probably ruled 1600 A.D. Pratap Dev is the only ruler of Mankot whose name finds reference in the Persian works *Akbarnama* and *Ma'ssir-ul-Umrah*. He has been referred to in *Ma'ssir-ul-Umrah* as Rai Pratap of Mankot in the times of Akbar in connection with the revolt of thirteen hill chiefs from Jammu upto Kangra in 1588-89 A.D[10].

The Rajadarshani also records on interesting anecdote about Raja Pratap Dev Rai. It states the Mirza Kamran, after being dislocated from Kabul by Humayu had sought shelter in Jammu. Raja Kapur Dev of Jammu sent him to the protection of Raja Pratap Dev of Mankot[11]. Pratap Dev had good relations with Mughal emperor Akbar. Pratap Dev seems to have won the entire confidence of the Mughal emperor who deputed him to arbitrate in the dispute of succession between Kapur Dev's son Samil Dev, and Kapur Dev's grandson. Parasram Dev (son of Jag Dev). Akbar divided Jammu Kingdom among the disputants on the advice of Raja Partap Dev[12].

Pratap Dev ruled for forty years. He was followed by Arjan Dev, who was his son and successor. Arjan Dev ruled form 1600 A.D., to 1630 A.D. and was tributary to Mughal emperor Jahangir (1605 A.D.-1627 A.D.)[13].

Sital Dev (1630 A.D. -1650 A.D.)

Mankot seems to have progressed much under the democratic rule of Partap Dev's grandson Sital Dev. Sital Dev was the blind ruler. He continued his direct relations with the Mughal court and was tributary to Shah Jahan (1628 A.D. 1658 A.D.)[14]. He was

a man of religious propensity which was inherited by his son and successor, Mahipat Dev. For the first time a portrait of the blind Raja Sital Dev was published in the "Art of India and Pakistan". Since then a lot of material have come to light. The Punjab Museum Chandigarh has acquired 250 paintings from Kunwar Indravijaya Singh of the Mankot royal family. M.S Randhawa published some of the specimens from this extensive collection. These miniatures covered a wide range of religious text: the *Ramayana, Bhagavata Purana and Dasavatara.* Love stories of *Sassi-Punnu, Laia-Majnu, Bazbahadur* and *Rupmati* were also favoured for illustrated. Besides these subjects there are a number of portraits of local royal personages and nobles. Stylistically these paintings are very close to the *Rasamanjari* paintings form Basohli.

Until the second half of the 17th Century, none of the Rajput states in the Punjab Hills seems to have possessed only schools of local painting. Shortly after 1650, Mankot, a small state adjoining Basohli in the north-western part of the area developed a school of portraiture, and this was to last for almost a century. The subjects included Mankot rulers, palace servants and members of the Mankot court as well as neighbouring rulers and their staff[15].

Mahipat Dev (1650 A.D-1680 A.D.)

Mahipat Dev was the first Mankot ruler to be portrayed with Vaishnava *tilak* mark and conceivably the chief factor in introducing ardent Vaishnavism into Mankot State[16]. He was a great patron, whose burly figure with hooked nose was portrayed with simplified naturalism against deep yellow backgrounds. This style owed much to Mughal portraiture of the Shah Jahan period but was already Rajput in its use of flat planes, from the depth and perspective and predilection for broad expenses of colour[17].

Dhota Dev (1960 A.D.-1700 A.D.)

After Mahipat Dev's death his son Dhota Dev sat at throne. Nothing has been mentioned about him in any historical documents or records. Mankot painting under him reveals in violent dramatic movements and bounding rhythmical gestures. This sense of convulsive energy persists until at least 1720. Dhota Dev was followed on throne by Tedhi Singh.

Tedhi Singh (1700 A.D 1730 A.D.)

Tedhi Singh was the next Mankotia chief of importance who ruled from about 1700 A.D 1730 A.D. Kahan Singh makes him contemporary of Raja Dhrub Dev (1710 A.D 1732 A.D.) of Jammu[19] and states that he has been granted Mahal Mori as a Jagir from the Emperor Aurangzeb for bravery in a battle. It is reported that Aurangzeb had conferred on him a *mansab* of two thousands, and as a reward for a successful military expedition he had received the *jagir* of Mahal Mori in Kangra. Paintings under Raja Dhota Dev and Tedhi Singh (c1710-c1730) reveals in violent dramatic movement of bonding rhythmical gestures. This sense of convulsive energy persists until at least 1720 A.D.

Azmat Dev (c1730-c1760)

Azmat Dev was son and successor of Tedhi Singh. He was contemporary of and tributary to Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu[20]. Azmat Dev administered the Mankot state on behalf of his father from 1730 A.D to about 1750 A.D. He seems to have ruled upto 1765 A.D[118]. Mankot state had probably become tributary to Ranjit Singh of Punjab as early as 1747 A.D., when the ambitious Raja of Jammu extended the Dogra kingdom in all sides and in collaboration with Ahmad Shah Durrani, established his supremacy over all the hill states situated between the Jhelum and Beas. Raja Azmat Dev also Accompanied Prince Brij Raj Dev with his contingents and played an important role Raja Azmat Dev ruled for a long period first on behalf of his father and in the second inning for himself. On Ranjit Dev's death. Raja Azmat Dev eschewed to Jammu and became independent, but soon, after he died because of falling from horse[22]. Under him, the style of simplicity blends with statuesque grace. Examples of this type of Mankot paintings are two series formerly in the Lambagron Collection, Kangra.

It is also important that even the portraits of Mankot princes, three or four generations prior to Kripal Pal, do not show any earlier traits. Most probably they were painted around 1760 A.D. Following the subjugation of Mankot by Jammu in about 1740 A.D., the local Mankot style was replaced by a variant of Jammu painting notable for its great naturalism and its use of wan greys. Paintings in this sub-Jammu style continued to be produced at Mankot until the collapse of the Mankot court in 1834 A.D.

Dalel Singh (1765 A.D. 1780 A.D.) and Chatter Singh (1780 A.D.- 1809A.D).

After the death of Raja Azmat Dev his son Dalel Singh and his grandson Chatter Dev became kings one after the other, but they could not uphold the sovernity for long. The fortunes of the Mankot were now on the decline. How far the Sikh's succeeded in penetrating the State after subverting Jammu is uncertain, as it was in the interior of the hills and so more out of reach of their marauding band[23]. However, the State came under Maharaja Ranjit Singh control in 1809 A.D., and was annexed to the Lahore Kingdom in 1820A.D[24]. but Chattar Singh was retained as ruler during this period. Its very existence was threatened by the rising star of the Dogra brothers i.e. Gulab Singh, Dhian Singh and Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh already subdued most of the smaller states and when the Raja of Bandralta was conferred on Raja Suchet Singh in 1822 A.D. Mankot became the next target of their ambition.

In 1825 A.D., Gulab Singh wrote to Suchet Singh to occupy Mankot as soon as possible and the latter send his wazir, Rai Kesari Singh to effect the conquest of the principality. The wazir attacked Mankot and the Raja submitted without offering any resistance. Despite of his tender submission. Raja Chatter Singh was asked to pay five thousand rupees[25] but he failed to do so, ultimately he was driven out of the principality which was annexed to the Jagirs of the Dogra Trip[26]. It was conferred as fief on Raja Suchet Singh of Jammu along with Bandralta. He changed the name of Mankot to Ramkot in 1825 A.D and the territory is known by the latter name since then Rai Kesari Singh used to administer the territory for Suchet Singh. On the death of Suchet Singh and Rai Kesari Singh in 1844 A.D. the territory was merged with Jammu. Following the extinction of the State in 1834 A.D., Mankot family settled in Kutlehr, later a part of the British district Kangra and in the later part of the 19th century provided Raja Sir Jai Chand of Lambargraon Kangra with two princes as brides. A *Bhagawata Purana* modelled on the earlier horizontal one but vertical in format and more summary in execution as well as illustration of Hindu Gods and goddesses all in strongly Mankot style may have accompanied the princesses thus accounting for their presence in the Lambargraon collection.

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Sari Hoard of Indo-Sassanian Coins

Ajay Kumar Shandil*

A hoard of 88 Indo-Sassanian coins was found at village Sari in Shimla district of Himachal Pradesh on the right side of Pabbar River in Shimla district in 2008S. This hoard is now in the possession of Himachal State Museum. Sari is a small village just half kilometre far away from famous religious and cultural centre Hatkoti. Hatkoti remained as a centre of trade during the ancient time and falls on the trade route which passes from the plain of Uttar Pradesh to Central Asia along the banks of Yamuna, Tons, Pabbar and Satluj. This hoard also came here through traders who had buried it here to save it for future trade. Apart from this there were also several other places from where hoard of such coins was discovered also lies on the trade route. But it is evident that there is no political relation or connection of this area with the Indo-Sassanian. Indo-Sassanian coins served as a currency for a long period till these were replaced by Muslim coins. Hoard contains the silver coins of degraded and degenerated types perhaps remained in current even after they had ceased to be produced. The description of the coins are as below:-

Sr. No.	Observe	Reverse	Weight
1.	Bust of the king facing right. King is wearing crown on the head and earning can be seen in ear. Necklace is visible partly.	There is an altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. There are dots in descending order from lower to upper side of altar on both sides. Female attendant is visible partly on the right side of altar.	3.27gms
2.	Traced of king's face is visible partly.	There is an altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. There is dots in descending order from lower to upper side of altar on both side. Female attendant is visible partly.	3.02gms
3	Ear of king is visible with ear ring. Necklace is also visible partly.	There is an fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. There is dots in descending order from lower to upper side of altar on both side. On the right side of altar there is female attendant wearing skirt	3.44gms

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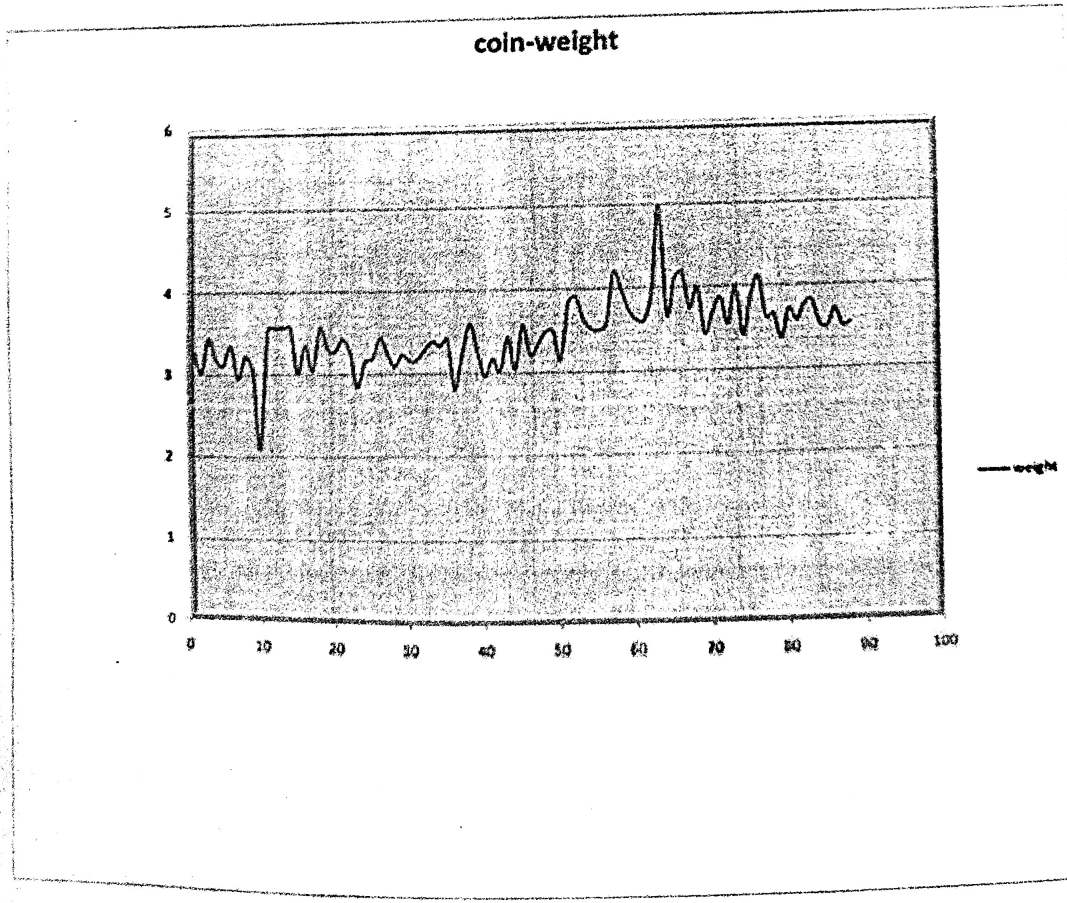
4	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. King is adorned with ornaments like necklace and ear ring. Crown is also visible partly.	There is an fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. There is dots in descending order from lower to upper but not clearly visible only few dots are visible.	3.18gms
5.	Only neck and necklace of king is visible. There is few dots on the lower side of neck.	There is an altar but only middle part of altar can be seen. Female attendant is also visible on right side.	3.11gms
6.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. The crown is appended with wings shown through curved lines on both side. King is adorned with ornaments like necklace and ear ring.	There is a fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. Chain of dots in descending order from lower to upper on both side of altar. Lady attendant on left side of altar is visible partially.	3.35gms
7.	Plain	There is an fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. Chain of dots both sides of altar. Female attendant can be seen of right side of altar.	2.95gms
8.	Few traces of kings face is visible	Few traces of fire altar.	3.22gms
9.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. The crown is appended with wing shown through curved lines on both side. Ear ring is visible partly.	Few traces of fire altar	3.03gms
10.	Only Brahmi letters 'Sa' is seen on the globe of crown.	Few traces of altar can be seen on right side of altar female attendant is seen partly.	3.10gms
11.	Only ear of king is visible.	Few altar can be seen. Doted chain is also visible.	3.56gms
12.	Only crown	Few altar can be seen. Doted chain is also visible.	3.56gms
13.	Few dots can be seen	Fire altar is visible partly with dots on right side.	3.57gms
14.	only '*sa*' a brahmi letter is visible partly	Fire altar can be seen partly. Chain of dots can be seen on lift side of altar.	3.56gms
15.	Few traces of king's crown is visible partly.	Only middle parts altar can be seen. With few dots on the side of altar	3.01gms
16.	Few traces is visible	Few altar traces of fire altar is visible	3.35gms
17.	Crown of king is visible with few traces of king's face.	Plain	3.04gms
18.	Few traces of king's crown is visible	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal. Chain of dots in descending order from lower to upper, from both side of altar	3.56gms
19.	Few traces of king's crown is visible. King's fare is partly visible	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal. Chain of dots in descending order from lower to upper, from both side of altar	3.31gms
20.	Only earring of king is visible	Fire altar is visible partly	3.27gms
21.	Some traces of king's face can be seen. Chain of dots are clearly visible	Female attendant is visible partly	3.42gms
22.	Few traces of king's face can be seen	Plain	3.27gms
23.	Few dots can be seen	Plain	2.84gms
24.	Few traces of king's face and crown can be seen	traces of fire altar can be seen	3.15gms
25.	Crown is visible partly	only female attendant is visible partly	3.18gms

26.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Fire altar can be seen partly with dots on both sides	3.43gms
27.	Plain	Middle and upper part of fire altar is visible. Female attendant can be seen on the right side of fire altar	3.25gms
28.	Traces of king's crown is visible pertly	Few traces of fire altar	
29.	Bust of king's facing with moustache. King is wearing crown. Crown is appended with wings shown through curved lines on both side king is adorned with ornaments like necklace and earning	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. Chain of dots can seen on right side of altar. Female attendant is visible on the left side of fire altar	3.23gms
30.	neck and ear of king is partly visible	middle and upper part of fire altar is visible	3.15gms
31.	Plain	Few traces of altar	3.17gms
32.	Plain	Few traces of altar.	3.29gms
33.	King's face can be seen partly. Crown is visible clearly. Eyes are ear is also visible	Fire alter can be seen partly. Female attendant is visible on the left side of fire altar. Chain of dots are also visible.	3.39gms
34.	Ear of king is visible.	Few traces of altar can be seen.	3.33gms
35.	Eye of king is visible. Jaw is also clearly visible. King is adorned with ornaments like necklace and ear rings.	Plain	3.41gms
36.	Plain	Fire altar can be seen with chain of dot. Female attendant is visible on right side of altar.	3.81gms
37.	Few traces are visible	Fire altar is partly visible	3.25gms
38.	Crown of king is visible	An fire altar can be seen on the left side of altar. Female attendant is also visible.	3.60gms
39.	Plain	Few traces of altar are visible.	3.26gms
40.	Crown of king is visible. Ear and eye can also be seen.	Traces of fire altar can be seen.	2.96gms
41.	King jaw and eye is visible. Ear is also seen partly.	Few traces of fire altar can be seen	3.17gms
42.	Few traces are visible.	Plain	3.02gms
43.	Plain	Plain	3.02gms
44.	Plain	Few traces are visible.	3.05gms
45.	Ear of king is seen with ear ring	Few traces are visible	3.58gms
46.	Bust of the king is visible partly.	Fire altar is partly visible chain of dots are visible clearly. Female attendant is also visible.	3.21gms
47.	Plain	Fire altar is visible. Chain of dots is also visible.	3.34gms
48.	King's crown is visible	Few traces of altar is visible	3.49gms
49.	Few traces are visible.	Few traces of altar is visible	3.55gms
50.	Plain	Plain	3.15gms
51.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. Eye and jaw of king is visible clearly. King is adorned with ornaments like necklace and ear ring	Fire altar is seen with chain of dots.	3.84gms
52.	Jaw of king is visible partly. Necklace is also visible	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps. Few dots are also visible	3.84gms

53.	Bust of the king facing right crown of king is visible. Ear is visible with ear ring.	Fire altar is partly visible but chain of a dots are clearly visible. Female attendant is visible on the left side of fire altar	3.64gms
54.	Ear of king is visible	Only chain of dot is visible.	3.52gms
55.	Jaw of king is visible. King is wearing ear ring in ear. Eye is also visible.	Few traces of fire altar is visible	3.50gms
56.	Bust of the king is visible. Ear has ear ring. Crown is also visible.	Few traces of fire altar is visible	3.57gms
57.	Few traces of fire altar is visible	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps is visible. Chain of dots in descending order from lower to upper side of altar on both sides. Female attendants are also visible.	4.19gms
58.	Bust of the king is visible. King has ear with ear ring. Crown is also visible.	Few traces of fire altar is visible	3.99gms
59.	King's face is visible. King is wearing earring in ear.	Few traces of fire altar is visible.	3.74gms
60.	Plain	Only female attendant is visible on the right side of altar. Fire altar is visible partly.	3.62gms
61.	King's face and ear with ear ring is visible partly.	Few traces of fire altar is seen	3.61gms
62.	Few traces of king's face is seen.	Traces of fire altar is visible	3.95gms
63.	Bust of the king is visible. King ear has ear ring. Crown is visible partly	Fire altar is partly visible. Female attendant is also visible partly.	4.99gms
64.	Few traces of king's face is visible.	Few traces of fire altar is visible	3.68gms
65.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps is visible. Chain of dots in descending order from lower to upper side of altar on both side.	4.11gms
66.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Few traces of fire altar are visible	4.18gms
67.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Few traces of fire altar are visible.	3.75gms
68.	Only necklace of king is visible	Few traces of fire altar. Female attendant is visible partly.	4.00gms
69.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Few dots are visible.	3.44gms
70.	Jaw of king is visible. Necklace is also visible	Few traces are visible.	3.69gms
71.	Few traces are visible	Few traces are visible	3.87gms
72.	Crown of king is visible. Ear of king is also visible	Few traces can be seen.	3.55gms
73.	Few traces are visible	Fire altar is partly visible. Female attendant is seen on right side of altar.	4.01gms
74.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Only upper and middle part of fire altar is visible	3.41gms
75.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. Ear has ear ring. Crown is also seen on the head of king.	Few traces of fire altar can be seen	3.88gms
76.	Few traces of king's face is visible	Few traces of fire altar can be seen.	4.12gms
77.	Plain	Fire altar is seen partly	3.62gms
78.	Few traces can be seen.	Fire altar can be seen partly. Female attendant is visible clearly on the right side of altar. Chain of dot is also visible	3.66gms
79.	Jaw of king is seen with crown on head ear of king has ear ring.	Plain	3.36gms

80.	Bust of the king is visible. King is wearing necklace and earring. Crown is also visible partly	Traces of fire altar can be seen.	3.72gms
81.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache. King is wearing crown. The king is adorned with ornaments like necklace and ear ring.	Fire altar consisting of a pedestal with th graded step is visible. Chain of dots ar also visible.	3.58gms
82.	Jaw of king is visible with crown on head	Traces of fire altar can be seen	3.77gms
83.	Plain	Upper and middle part of fire altar can be seen	3.82gms
84.	Bust of the king facing right with moustache is partly visible. Crown is also visible	Few traces of fire altar are visible.	3.54gms
85.	Few traces are visible.	Few traces are visible	3.50gms
86.	Few traces are visible	Few traces are visible	3.71gms
87.	King's face is visible partly	Few traces of fire altar is visible	3.51gms
88.	Brahmi 'Sa' letter is seen on globe of crown.	Few traces are visible. Female attendant is partly visible	3.54gms



INDO-SASSANIAN COINS

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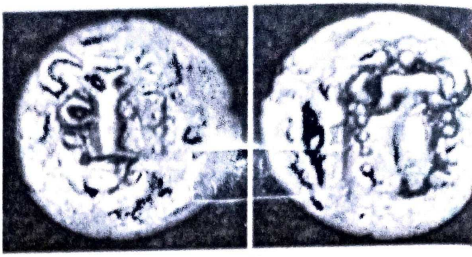

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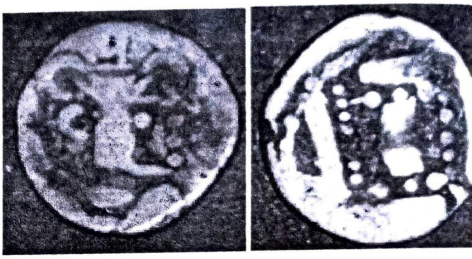

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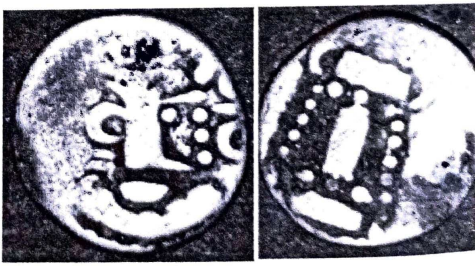

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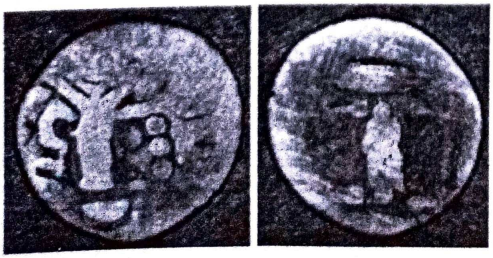

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